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A CALL TO WORKMEN

To Take Part in the St. Louis Municipal Campaign—The Issues Defined.

To the readers of The People and Workmen of St. Louis in general: At the next city election to be held in St. Louis on Tuesday, April 6, 1903, you will again be called upon to exercise your right of franchise. A variety of political parties will ask you to vote for them. Among them is the Socialist Labor Party, which again calls your attention to the fact that in society as it exists to-day, there is a big capitalist class that robs you, and that you are being robbed by these two sets of robbers whether under Republican, Democratic, or so-called Reform parties rule.

The big capitalist class is composed of those who own the most important means of production and distribution, i. e., mines, mills, factories, elevators, granaries, ships, railroads, etc. They take no part in production, but appropriate to themselves the largest share of what the working class produces. The members of this class are the principal promoters of a money-making scheme that is being launched here, which is known as the World's Fair. In this city their interest is being looked after by the Republican and Democratic parties, whose object it is to again get control of the city government and use that government to advance and protect the interest of the capitalist class against the interest of the working class.

You may cry for proof. Does not the proof of the pudding lie in the eating of it? During the late street car-men's strike, were you not forced to eat a lead pudding shot from the rifles of the deputy sheriffs by orders of a Democratic police force and a Republican mayor? Right here it may not be amiss to draw your attention to the fact that amongst these deputy sheriffs there was one by the name of G. A. Hoebe, a member of the Socialist Democratic, alias Socialist party, a party that in the State of California fused with a fair-pled "Union Labor" party which, in turn, fused with the Democratic party. Turn down this set of robbers by voting the ticket of the Socialist Labor Party.

The next set of robbers that we have to deal with is the middle class, the small skippers, the very small manufacturers, the man with the one horse shoe repair shop, the two by four store keepers, all of these who have a peck of potatoes, a pint of molasses, a bag of flour, or a ten cent broom to sell, all the small skippers of the working class. This middle class is in a peculiar position. It is robbed by the big capitalist class, but at the same time it robs all of those who are beneath it in the economic scale, namely, the working class.

It is because its dealings must be divided with the big capitalist class that it is so much the more mercenary in its treatment of the working class. While it upholds capitalism and wage slavery it is at war with the highest development of capitalism, the various industrial combinations known as the trust.

The middle class is blind to the conditions that created the department store, and other commercial and industrial concentrations, and seeks to further its interest by anti-department store and anti-trust legislation. The members of the middle class feel themselves crushed to death by the burden of taxation that the large capitalist class succeeds in avoiding. They groan beneath the exactions of the great railroads, telegraphs, telephones, street car, gas and electric light companies, and imagine that "if only these industries could be made to bear a portion of the burden of taxation, while the rest of service would be reduced to them a few years longer. So they cry out for "municipal ownership" of what they please to term "public utilities."

In this city they are rallying around what is known as "The Public Ownership," and the bogus "Socialist" parties, with a view of capturing the machinery of the city government and use it to exact laws that will advance and protect their class interest. The laws that they propose to enact are known as "reforms."

These proposed reforms would be of little interest to the Socialist Labor Party, were it not for the fact that they are invariably set forth as being in the interest of the working class. These middle class skippers see that the ownership of street cars, gas works, etc., are a good thing for the few men who own them. As a result they reason thus: "Now, if the city owned these public utilities, the profits, instead of going into the pockets of a few big capitalists would go into the city treasury and we the middle class would not have to pay any taxes. We would reap the benefits of the profits instead of their flowing into the pockets of the big capitalist class." Do you see the point, fellow workmen? They want to reap the benefits of the profits. If profits are to be made that means that the working class must continue to be squeezed out of a great part of the wealth

that they produce. As a result you will be no better off than you were before.

Another claim that these middle class skippers put forth is that they want to bring about reform a step at a time. What they really mean is that they want to advance the interest of their class a step at the time, and if possible overthrow the big capitalist class, so that they, the middle class, may come the only and dominant class to rob you.

There is no set of skippers like the middle class skippers. If there is one class that hates and despises the working class, it is these middle class vultures. All through the history of the past these middle class skippers have used the working class as a stepping stone to advance their interest. During the period of the eighteenth century we find the middle class laughing at the working class for trying to smash the machines. To-day we see that some middle class trying to smash those more improved tools of production known as combinations and trusts, and failing in that, they want to make them public property, and use them to rob the working class through the capitalist government. What difference does it make to you fellow workmen whether you are robbed by a private capitalist as through the capitalist government? Turn down these middle class skippers by casting your vote for the Socialist Labor Party, whose motto is, "Down with the big robber class. Down with the little robber class. Up with the working class."

The Socialist Labor Party wants the working class to own and control the government, that government in turn to own and control all "public utilities," and use them not to reduce taxes, but to reduce the hours of labor in accordance with the progress of production, and emancipate the working class from wage slavery by giving them the full products of their toil, a system under which everybody will have to work or starve. This means a revolution.

At the close of the eighteenth century, and the first part of the nineteenth century, the capitalist class was in most countries under the rule of the landed interests. The old landlords, known as the feudal barons, held the reins of power. The rising capitalist class was trying to obtain that power for their own use. The working class had just been shut off from the land by changes in the methods of cultivation and were becoming attached to the capitalist class as wage workers. The capitalists saw in these wage workers a convenient weapon with which to accomplish their purpose of overthrowing the landlords. The capitalist class succeeded in getting the franchise for their wage slaves, who in turn used it to overthrow the landlords by voting for their capitalist master. — was the beginning of the capitalist system. The overthrow of the feudal system and the enthronement of capitalism was a revolution. Under feudalism the working class were the slaves of the feudal lords. To-day they are slaves of the capitalist class.

Now, the Socialist Labor Party is organizing the working class for a revolution. It wants the working class to get possession of the law making powers and then wield that power in the interest of their class against the interest of every other class. It wants to establish socialism in lieu of capitalism. It wants to abolish slavery in all its forms and establish a republic of free men, free because they will collectively own the things necessary to make a living with. This is the socialist revolution.

We have now made it plain to you what socialism is and what the Socialist Labor Party is after. It is up to you to help us. Are you doing it? The revolution will not be brought about by merely voting the Socialist Labor Party ticket, or reading "The People and the World," or throwing a remark that "Smith made a good speech." It will not be brought about by staying at home with your wives and children whom you are trying to keep alive on eight dollars a week. It will not be brought about by continuous whining and shooting off your horn about the capitalist. The revolution will only come as a result of the hard work by the working class themselves. In this campaign there will be plenty of work to do. There is literature to be distributed, signatures to be gathered, and thousands and one other things. If you want to join us or aid us in any other way then give us a call at our headquarters, 307 1/2 Pine street, room No. 6, second floor, where we meet every Monday and Thursday night. If you come there don't expect to see a lot of so-called good fellows such as saloon keepers, broken down actors, bum lawyers, middle class storekeepers, labor fakirs, pullers-in for capitalist lodges, whiskey soaked Geang-verin professors or out of a job agitators. What you will see is a group of plain every day workmen, with good sound sense. Men who defy any capitalist or his lieutenants to refute their arguments. Men who are robbed, starved, and abused every day in the mines, mills, and factories, the same as you are. Men who are slaves but not willing slaves. Men who are organized to overthrow their oppressors. Will you give us a lift?

Press Committee, Section St. Louis.
St. Louis, Dec. 29, 1902.

THE POTTER STRIKE

ACTION OF PAINTERS AGAINST SOLDIERS CAUSING FUROR.

They Claim He is a Non-Union Man— Firm Won't Discharge Militiaman— Injunction He Got Against Union to be Argued Next Week.

Schenectady, N. Y., Jan. 4.—The action of the painters and decorators employed by Shafer & Barry in striking yesterday morning because the firm refused either to lay off William Potter, the National Guardsman, pending the settlement of his case in court, or to compel him to make application for membership in the union, is attracting great attention. Although only eight men went on strike the bosses are worked up as they thought the matter was all settled.

The strike order took the form of a resolution adopted by Painters and Decorators' Union No. 62, at a meeting Friday night, to the effect that the painters in this city should work in no shop which employed non-union men. The union holds that Potter is not a union man; therefore, the resolution was practically an order to those employed by Shafer & Barry to strike. The Supreme Court had just directed the union to recognize the guardsman as a member pending argument to make the injunction permanent. Dennis Downey, president of the local union, made the following statement:

"No strike has been declared at Shafer & Barry's or anywhere else, but in compliance with the resolution adopted the painters employed by the firm mentioned would not go to work yesterday morning because William Potter is not a union man. At the time of his expulsion from the union he was not a journeyman, and a card was never issued to him as such. The records of the union show that he was an apprentice boy, which entitled to a seat in the union but gave him no voice in its affairs."

"According to his own affidavit recently made, he ceased to be an apprentice boy in 1901 and then became a journeyman. In view of the fact that he is now a journeyman he must be regarded as a non-union man, as he has not and never had a card, has never made application for membership and still refuses to do so. At the time of the hearing of the case in court in Troy he was present with an application blank by William Appilyby, the treasurer of the union, and requested to fill out the name and send it into the union at or before the regular meeting to be held January 2. He did not comply with the request."

"Mr. Hendrick, the first vice-president of the International Union, was in this city last Monday, and after holding a conference with the executive board of the local, called on Shafer & Barry with a view of settling the matter. He requested them to have Potter make application for membership or lay him off pending the adjudication of the case in court. They refused and the matter lay open until Friday night, when the union took action."

John Shafer of Shafer & Barry said yesterday:

"Our men quit work this morning. We expected they would. We have been waited on several times by representatives of the union and they demanded that we lay Potter off until the proceedings in court are finished. The union asked us to do an act that would certainly be detrimental to our business. We do not want to do anything that will be in any way antagonistic to organized labor, but it is simply impossible for us to grant this demand. Potter when expelled by the union was laid off by us with one day's notice. Now that the court has ordered him reinstated and restored to his former position in the union, we will not lay him off again unless the final decision of the court is adverse to him. If the court decides that he is not a union man we will discharge him, but not before."

The plan of Potter's attorneys is not to arrest anybody for contempt, but to call the attention of the court to the fact that the union is disobeying its order which directs the union shall accept and receive Potter as a member. They say that as these men have stopped work confessedly because at the meeting Friday night they were directed so to do and to remain out of employment of Shafer & Barry until Potter is discharged, it places them directly in contempt. It is said an effort will be made to shut the union out of court entirely until it has obeyed the temporary injunction. Persons disobeying the order of the court have no standing in the court. Argument for and against making the temporary injunction permanent is set down to

S. L. P. VOTE OF 1902.

States	1902	1900
California	1,307	100
Colorado	1,340	714
Connecticut	699	908
Illinois	5,285	1,373
Indiana	1,756	663
Kentucky	585	390
Massachusetts	6,070	2,610
Michigan	1,282	908
Minnesota	2,570	1,320
Missouri	909	1,294
New Jersey	1,918	2,074
New York	15,886	12,622
Ohio	2,983	1,888
Pennsylvania	5,262	2,936
Rhode Island	1,283	1,423
Texas	120	102
Virginia	157	169
Washington	884	1,066
Wisconsin	791	531

Totals.....52,895 32,964
The following observations will aid in the understanding of the above figures:
This year the S. L. P. had a ticket in the above 10 States. In these States the party polled this year 52,895 as against 32,964 in the same States in 1900—a gain of 19,931.

In 1900 the S. L. P. had tickets also in Arizona 64 votes, Georgia 24 votes, Iowa 259 votes, Maryland 391 votes, Montana 118 votes, Nebraska 10 votes, Oregon 285 votes and Utah 106 votes—an aggregate of 1,233. The total S. L. P. vote in 1900 was 34,191. This year's vote of 52,895 marks accordingly, an increase over a more limited area.

As to Pennsylvania, the "official returns for the Socialist Labor Party" give 5137 votes. But "this figure is not accurate as the S. L. P. vote. After the ticket was nominated, the nominee for governor joined an intrigue conducted by just a baker's dozen in Allegheny county to commit piracy upon the party. He was thereupon repudiated by the party organization in the State and Jackson set up in his stead. This, however, happened so late an hour that it was impossible to notify the constituency of Pennsylvania to strike him off the S. L. P. ballot and vote for Jackson. As a result only 128 votes were cast for Jackson, according to the reports that have run in here. This Jackson vote is not included in the 5137 S. L. P. votes given in the official returns for Pennsylvania. It is swallowed up among the "scattering." On the other hand, the vote cast by the 13 Pittsburgh intriguers, and which is included in the 5137, does not belong there. Expelled by the party and left in the cold by those whom they at first succeeded in imposing upon, their votes must also be expelled from the S. L. P. total. Accordingly, deducting from the 5137 these 13 and adding the 128 Jackson votes, the corrected total is, as stated in the above table 5262.

The vote given for California, Texas and Virginia is a local vote. As to Texas it is subject to increase.

take place before Justice Howard in the Supreme Court in Troy on January 12.

William Potter was at work yesterday afternoon for Shafer & Barry at 518 Summit avenue. He had not heard of the resolution adopted by the local union. He said:

"I was in hope, for the sake of all interested that no further action would be taken in this matter until it was settled in court. I want it understood that I am in no sense opposed to organized labor. I am willing to sign an application and become a member of the union, but I do not propose to resign my place in the militia to become a member of the union. I insist that is the right of every man to become a member of the militia if he so desires, and I intend to stay in the militia until my term of enlistment expires. Then if I want to re-enlist I shall do so."

When asked if he had been requested to fill out an application blank for the union, he said:

"At the time of the hearing in Troy, the treasurer of the union came to me in the court room and offered me a paper. I refused to accept it and referred it to Mr. Grupe of the firm of Yates & Grupe, my counsel. I subsequently learned that it was an application blank. I wish to go on record as saying that I will fill out an application now or at any future time if they will consent to strike from the blank form the clause relating to the militia."

Labor and National Guard.

New Haven, Conn., Jan. 4.—Col. N. G. Osborn, editor of the New Haven Evening Register, last night talked this way to the members of trade organizations who are opposed to enlistment in the National Guard:

"If the resignation of Lieut. Walker from the Second Regiment because of his membership in a union represented the real feeling of the union men in this city things would have come to a sorry pass. The preservation of order and protection of property are as important to the laboring man as to the factory owner, and unless trades unionism wishes to stand for lawlessness and disorder it cannot justify the action of any of its members in refusing to serve in the militia. But the fact should not be forgotten by all union men that they can hardly expect the sympathy and good will of a community to which they avowedly repudiate any responsibility and to the protection of whose property and order they are openly hostile."

REMEMBER
"MOZLE"
CIGARETTES

STEEL TRUST SCHEME

UNABLE TO PLUCK WARY INVESTORS, IT TRIES TO PLUCK ITS OWN EMPLOYEES.

It Issues a Circular to That Effect But With an Unction of "Love and Affection for its Workingmen"—"Brotherhood of Capital and Labor"—"Identity of Interests Between Employer and Employee, Etc., Etc."

The "soap-bubble" of the Steel Trust is not about to burst; but, is about to be turned into a gold brick. Originally boomed as the best investment possible, its preferred and common stock has been going down hill, until they reached the point where investments in them would fetch 8 and 11 per cent. respectively. Notwithstanding that, investors were not forthcoming. Stock must have been lavishly distributed among the so-called great dailies in order to boom the trust as a prime investment. They so boomed it, setting about all manner of fairy tales. They published large tables giving alleged reports of an alleged fabulous output and still more fabulous profits. And they set in circulation the myth of President Schwab receiving a million dollars salary. All this, notwithstanding, investors did not bite. The Schwab \$1,000,000 salary turns out to be a meagre \$100,000 salary, and now the directors find themselves compelled to turn to their employees and use them as corks to keep the concern floating.

The scheme now is "to distribute" 25,000 shares of the preferred stock among 108,000 employees. These are to be divided into a number of classes, and are to be allowed to buy stock at \$82.50 a share with three years to pay it up. In addition to the dividends that each employee will draw on his stock, the company will pay him \$5 a share, provided he remains in the company with a good record.

This is a new application of the profit-sharing plan with modern improvements. The monies that the Steel Trust could not induce the public to pour into its lap it is now going to wheedle out of the meagre salaries of its employees who are expected to snap at the bait of a 7 per cent. dividend and a \$5 bonus.

Last year's earnings of the trust were \$101,142,058. The basis of \$125,000,000 a year equals 18 per cent. for dividends.

Homestead Men Object.

Pittsburg, Pa., Jan. 2.—Employees of the Homestead plant of the United States Steel Corporation have been interviewed regarding the scheme of the concern to share its profits with its employees, and they expressed themselves as decidedly opposed to the proposition. The Homestead works employ about seven thousand men who are entitled to the profit sharing. Not one of twenty interviewed favored the move and each condemned it.

The men gave many reasons why the plan would not be a good thing. One of these was that, under the proposition submitted, the amount of stock that the majority of the workmen can buy is limited to a few shares. The workmen assert that only the department and general superintendents who draw large salaries will be able to purchase enough stock to make an investment worth the while.

Another objection raised is that the stock if bought on installment will not be delivered until five years after the employee has purchased it, and that if he leaves the service of the corporation before that time he practically loses his dividends on his stock. The objectors assert that the five-year provision is virtually a contract to hold them in the company's service for that length of time.

The majority of the men objected to the publication of their names, but spoke in strong terms against the scheme, declaring that it was only a clever move on the part of the corporation to dispose of its stock and keep the workmen under its thumb, preventing strikes or other labor troubles.

Following Steel Trust's Example.

Announcement was made yesterday that another industrial corporation, following the leadership of the United States Steel Corporation, has inaugurated a plan to "share its profits" with employees. The Pressed Steel Car Company proposes to carry for each of its employees, who has been six months or more in its employ, from one to twenty-five shares of its preferred stock, now paying 7 per cent. dividends. The men will pay 5 per cent. down and the same in monthly installments thereafter, the company charging 4 per cent. for moneys loaned, as the dividend is 7 per cent., the buyer will have the advantage of the 3 per cent. difference.

In regard to the reports from Pittsburgh that the profit-sharing plan of the United States Steel Corporation is not being well received among the employees in the steel works, a member of the finance committee of the corporation said to-day that those reports must have come from employees who did not understand either the plan or the situation among the other employees of the corporation.

"The members of the finance committee who got up the proposed plan," said the director, "didn't get it up and make it public without knowing something about the way it would be received. There may be some employees of the corporation who do not care to make the investment, and there may be others who will oppose it without thinking much about it, but you may be sure

that there will be many who will see an opportunity in the offer of the corporation.

"We have some facts in our possession now which sufficiently answer the reports that the employees are opposed to the plan. Within a short time we will probably make a statement as to the acceptance of the offer by the men."

DODGES THE QUESTION.

Capitalist Paper Talks Around Facts.

It is a common experience nowadays to hear the frequency of accidents to railroad trains commented upon in a manner not complimentary to the operating officials of the different lines.

The criticism strikes such a vital chord in the present system of railroad government that it deserves careful notice. In the first place, it is declared to be noticeable that the number of wrecks has sensibly increased in the territory immediately surrounding Cleveland during the year which is just drawing to a close, says the Cleveland Leader. It is commonly reported and generally believed that the number of fatalities has noticeably increased. The deduction from this is that the railroad operating officials have been chosen by social preferment and pull rather than upon their merits, and the deduction is pursued by the most outlandish wait that criminal negligence on the part of these pets of fortune has resulted in an unprecedented loss of life.

Presuming that all of this cant is based upon facts, the indication is that the rush of prosperity in the United States has gone to an extent which is dangerous to life and limb of the people who travel either for pleasure or from compulsion. It would seem if this charge were to be borne out, that in the great rush to handle all of the business and handle it expeditiously, the overwrought nerves of the trainmen and the dispatchers had been forced to relax and that the misconception of orders and the sending of wrong orders was the natural result. The charge might also be laid up to the lack of sufficient track room for the handling of all of the trains and the crippling of the equipment, making it not trustworthy, or even satisfactory for the immediate purpose. In the two latter charges alone there appear even a semblance of what seems to be a great increase in fatalities in the railroad travel.

The statistics which have recently been compiled make it a fair estimate that since the beginning of the revival of business in the United States in 1897, the general trade of the country has increased perhaps 50 per cent. This means a corresponding increase in the number of trains run over the various railroads. There has been no such increase in the track facilities of the United States, nor anything like it. In fact, the increase in the track room of the country has been practically nil when compared with the enormous increase in all kinds of traffic. If the disasters fatal to human life had become anyway near so numerous as some might make it appear, there would be an increase in the death-rate corresponding to the number of passengers carried, which does not obtain by any manner of means.

ORGANIZED STRIKE-BREAKERS.

Sky-Pilot Using His Efforts to Further Such an Organization.

Albany, Jan. 1.—The Rev. E. M. Fairchild, of this city, who has been called into consultation by "workmen" interested in the formation of the National League of Independent Workmen of America, said last night:

"The league will be organized in the near future. It is proposed to put a national organizer in the field and to organize local branches all over the country and demand that employers run their shops as 'open shops' in which union and league men can have an equal and fair chance for employment. The league will be strictly a laboring man's affair, but it will be incorporated, so as to command the confidence of employers and the general public, and be in position to defend the rights of its members through the courts. Only American citizens will be eligible to membership."

"The specific object for which the independent workmen propose to organize are as follows:
"To protect independent workmen in their independence.
"To sustain high wages by skillful, energetic co-operation with employers.
"To establish reasonable hours of labor according to the exigencies of the trades.
"To promote intelligent understanding of work.
"To furnish favorable conditions for training apprentices in order that boys may become successful workmen.
"To maintain sanitary conditions of employment by means of State laws and inspectors.
"To compel officers of the government to enforce the laws.
"To compel labor unions to observe the laws.
"To protect members against unjust treatment from employers by due process of law.
"To provide a labor bureau for its members."

The Georgian Court, owned by George Gould, at Lakewood, N. J., has won Dr. Lorenz's unstinted praise. He declares there is no place in Europe that can compare with it. This country has other incomparable things that may have escaped Dr. Lorenz's notice. It has a larger population per square mile in the so-called slum districts of New York City than any other city of Europe or Asia. But then the squalor that that implies cannot be found at Georgian Courts, though it is the slum tenements of the workers that make Georgian Courts possible.

FATHER McGRADY

Ridicules His Martyrdom—Finds "Socialism" a "Good Thing."

Special to The Daily People.

Louisville, Ky., Dec. 19.—Last night our city was visited by the much-advertised Father McGrady, late of Bellevue, Ky., who gained much notoriety by his resignation as priest of the Catholic church, after having been "called down" by his superior, Bishop Maess. As is well known, McGrady has been dabbling in the labor problem for quite a while without getting into conflict with his church organization; however, recently an article written by him appeared in "Wilshire's Magazine," in which he endorsed the writing of such men as Darwin, Zola, and Renan. This, quite naturally, placed him in the position where he had either to retract or to resign, and he chose the latter course, being no doubt influenced very much by the recent big Kangaroo and S. D. P. vote, in so doing.

McGrady's remarks on the platform here last night confirm this supposition, as he plainly said that he did not give up a "soft snap" until he was sure of "another one."

Dollis, of the Evening Times, who introduced him, referred feelingly to "the good socialist" Wilshire, and eulogized McGrady, whom he introduced as a "martyr" to the cause of Socialism. McGrady himself ridiculed this "martyrdom" that he was undergoing by saying that he was perfectly well satisfied with the same as he averaged only about three hours' labor daily with a splendid income.

Aside from these remarks, McGrady proved to be quite a good orator of the Ingersoll type playing strongly upon the sentimental feelings of his hearers, speeded with witticisms and jokes.

The class struggle was, of course, studiously avoided, and at the conclusion of his remarks he quickly left the stage, giving no opportunity for questions at all. As no chairman remained on the stage during his remarks, it was evident that the local "socialist group" had decided to give the Socialist Labor Party no chance to mar the good humor of the crowd by their hateful questions.

To size up McGrady, he is a tall and well-fed, powerful fellow with a tremendous voice, who, like Debs and Herron, will now tour the country as a new freak in the Kangaroo menagerie, relying on his temporary notoriety to draw large crowds for the freak party.

The crowd itself was a study. There were philosophical anarchists, labor fakirs, A. P. A.'s hoping to hear a "sensational expose," Democratic politicians of Catholic extraction out of curiosity, initiative and referendum cranks, "Sick and Death Benefit beneficiaries," "Atte Genossen" of the Atheist type, and last but not least, several expelled S. L. P. members and such as fell by the wayside hopeless and inactive. Truly a veritable crazy quilt, all bent on hearing astounding things from the mouth of a resigned priest.

The crowd numbered fully 600 people which is about the largest crowd ever seen in Louisville at a meeting called in the name of socialism. He came, he saw and got the "plunks." Exit McGrady!

On New Year's eve, Section Louisville will give an entertainment and ball at Beek's Hall, consisting of recitations, poems, and musical numbers. Admission 10c a person. Every member should do his utmost to make this a big success. At the last regular business meeting the following officers and committees were elected for the year 1903: Organizer, James Doyle; recording and corresponding secretary, Frank Giffey; financial secretary, Louis Fleischer; treasurer, Hy Schild; librarian, Thos. Sweeney; agent for Soc. Arbeiter Zeitung, A. Schmutz; agent for The People, Thos. Sweeney; press committee, Giffey and Klemenz; Kentucky State committee and Section Louisville campaign committee, Doyle, O'Hearn, Guth, Kleinhenz, Giffey, Sweeney and Schmutz; auditing and grievance committee, Kleinhenz, Schmutz and Doyle. And a committee of thirteen members to attend to all celebrations and entertainments.

The recent rapid entrance of women into men's work has, according to Dr. MacDonald, criminologist of the United States Bureau of Education, developed suicide, insanity and nervous diseases relatively faster in women than in men. This is certainly not a cheering announcement. When the great influx of women into industry is considered, it is a fact, full of dark foreboding for the future of the race. It is also another damaging contribution to the great number of facts which condemn capitalism as the breeder of the ills of modern society. As such it proclaims louder than ever the necessity of overthrowing capitalism before it is too late.

A CRITICISM OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE

BY KARL KAUTSKY, WITH SOME CONCLUSIONS AS TO THE PROPER DEFINITION OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE.

If we look up the Socialist movement in this country as it was several years ago and compare it with the present, we will find a striking difference between then and now, a difference so apparent that it cannot escape even him who only keeps up the relationship of a sympathizer towards the S. L. P.

That such a comparison shows progress is openly admitted by everyone who knows a little more than the A. B. C. of Socialism, be he friend or enemy. However, there are some who admit this fact, but still question some moves which are, if closely examined, seen to be nothing else but conditions that either are causes or the natural results of that progress.

Considering these facts, we must ask why it is that those progressive steps were not made long ago?—and why is it that some who are very familiar with the movement still doubt the correctness of those steps?

As to the first question, it will be explained if we can show that the fault is with some of our most prominent literature; however, that will not answer the second question fully, for among those who are doubting Thomases are many who are quite able to judge events by facts and such would never allow themselves to be permanently misled by words. Perhaps in looking up our literature we may also find the key to the answer for the second question.

Another strange question must be asked before we proceed, namely, how could it happen that some of the authors of our most prominent literature lost themselves in the mud to such an extent that they ignore or deny the constant antagonism between the working class and the capitalist class? Such a slip throws suspicion on the writings of such men. Therefore, let us take up the pamphlet "The Class Struggle" by Karl Kautsky, as an example. It commences with the following words:

"Modern society cannot escape shipwreck unless it reorganizes itself into the Socialist Republic." After a short explanation what the term "Socialist Republic" means, he says further: "The substitution of the co-operative or Socialist system of production is in the interest, not of the propertyless class alone, but of the individuals in all other classes as well." A little further down he draws the following conclusion and confronts it with the real fact: "It would be thought from these premises that all classes of society, capitalists and landlords, no less than proletarians, would join in the establishment of the Socialist Republic. The reverse is the case."

The next two pages contain a lengthy explanation that the rich would "have nothing to gain" from the abolition of private property in the means of production, and that "not a few might be deprived also of their present ease and comfort in idleness."

These last sentences are entirely correct and clear as daylight, and one must ask himself why it is that Kautsky seemingly overlooked these facts when he made the two assertions quoted in this criticism first? Was that merely a dialectical figure constructed for the purpose of leading to a conclusion which is in striking contrast with the facts and thereby make the facts more apparent to the readers eye? If it is only that then it may be called all right, although in teaching

the working class, plain language, which avoids all delusions, is always preferable. But let us look further. On the same page we find also the following sentences: "Indeed, so shocking are the conditions in modern society that no one who wishes to be taken seriously in politics or in science dares any longer to deny the justice of the charges preferred by Socialism against the present social order. On the contrary, the clearest heads in all the various capitalist political parties admit that there is 'some truth' in those charges," and on page 4 we read further: "The idealists are the only ones among the upper ranks of the property-holding classes whose support it is at all possible to enlist in favor of Socialism."

In these few quotations we have K. Kautsky in a nutshell. He knows full well that the capitalist class as such is hostile to socialism and is forced by material interest to be so, though he pleads in favor of the individual, he is even so simple and innocent that he believes that such partial admissions by capitalist politicians are meant to be honest—honest to the working class—while in fact, they are nothing but baits and are, almost without exception, meant maliciously, and even if meant honestly, are bound to act maliciously against the working class, for it is impossible for any politician to act in favor of the working class without separating himself; first of all, entirely from the capitalist class, and second, affiliate himself with the working class movement by joining its organization and abiding in its decisions.

In writing this fact, K. Kautsky makes the mistake of his life, and in this neglect we find the root of the famous or infamous, Kautsky-Millerand resolution where he gives expression to the sentimental idea that a man who delivers himself entirely into the hands of the capitalist class can still do something for the working class. This is a mistake even if applied to any other struggle, and much more so in the class struggle. He who depends on the capitalist class for his existence is bound to serve the capitalist class, and if he tries to deny that, he is not more nor less than a traitor.

In the fact that this mistake is still endorsed by a good many socialists, who still look to lawyers and ministers, etc., as their rescuers, we find the answer to the questions raised in the beginning of this criticism. By avoiding this error we will be able to define the class struggle much more clearly, and draw a line much more sharply than Kautsky was able to do. If Kautsky's line which is drawn in the class struggle between the working class and the capitalist class must be a zig-zag line, our line will be a straight one and that is quite an advantage for us. However, with this we have outlined only one side of our movement, namely, the front against the capitalist class; as soon as we are confronted by other workingmen's organizations or other workingmen's movements we will be unable to distinguish friend or enemy on the merits of the above facts alone, we must find another guide, other facts by the light of which we may be able to draw a clear line also on this side of our movement, and thereby safeguard it against attacks from the back.

Before we take up Kautsky, what he says on that point of the subject, let us have a look at history, which may, for this purpose, be viewed best from the standpoint which suggests itself through the first three passages quoted in this criticism. First, "Modern society cannot escape shipwreck unless it reorganizes itself into the Socialist Republic. Second, The substitution of the co-operative or socialist system of production for the capitalist system of production is in the interest, not of the propertyless class alone, but of the individuals in all other classes as well. Third, It would be thought from these premises that all classes of society, capitalists and landlords, no less than proletarians, would join in the establishment of the Socialist Republic."

Yes, but there is an *if*. If human society would consider itself a society with the only object to help

each other in the struggle with nature, from whose sources it has to wrest its existence, then the conclusion would be as correct and as plain as daylight. However, that never has been.

From time immemorial men have found it more convenient to fight with their fellow men for the goods which they had produced, instead of taking up the task of producing for themselves, with their own labor. This robbery became successively such a noble business, that it was sanctioned by superstitious theories, called religions, and by laws. In succession it became a sacred privilege for a limited class within each nation, or even tribe. Of course, this class was supposed at first to only rob other nations, tribes, etc., and defend their own. However, there soon began a certain struggle between this class and the other members within the community, which was very often more fierce than the struggle with other communities. This struggle has been conducted through all ages, by oratory, sophistry, decrees and laws, and with imprisonment, torture, fire and sword. Priests, politicians, jurors, henchmen, warriors, artists and scientists have been busily engaged in the fight. It was carried on as well on the economic as on every other field, with changing results, many such struggles ending with the destruction of a whole nation. To this fate every nation was doomed in which the upper, the robber class, succeeded in downing the producing propertyless class entirely; while on the other hand, nations in which the producing class managed to keep the upper class in check, flourished and spread. With the introduction of steam and machinery in the process of production, things changed, the fight became a hopeless one for the proletariat.

In all the ages preceding the capitalist system, the wealth of the rich consisted of land, cattle, slaves and serfs. To produce goods, labor power was necessary. This labor power was mostly extracted from the slaves and serfs. The more labor power those slaves and serfs could yield the more could be produced. In fact, all their land and cattle were worthless to the rich without this labor power. They were dependent on it and consequently had to take care of it. They could not starve the producers of labor power without starving themselves. On the other hand, the producers might have been able to starve their lord without starving themselves. They had access to the sources of nature, they had the economic power in their hand. However, at that time, owing to the primitive means of transportation and communication, international understanding was impossible, and, therefore, the proletariat could not escape being robbed away, and, perhaps, might have been still more subdued by the hostile nations surrounding their own. They were therefore bound to their lord and only extremely dreadful treatment could stir them to rebel.

With the introduction of steam power and machinery in the process of production the lord became master. He could untie the knot which tied him to his slaves and serfs, he freed himself by freeing them; more than that, he freed himself from the dependence on the soil by becoming master of the means of production. So we see to-day, the landlords representing a distinctly separate fraction among the capitalists. The capitalist even threw away the privilege to have a larger or smaller number of proletarians bound to his person or family, but by taking hold of the means of production and distribution, he grasped the power to starve the propertyless, and, to a great extent, also the small property holders, into submission without starving himself. The proletariat was entirely divorced from the soil, it had no access to the sources of nature, and it was left hanging in the air, so to speak. K. Kautsky recognizes this when he says on page 24 and 25: "By stripping the workman of all property, the capitalist system of production has loosened him from his threshold. To-day he enjoys no fixed domicile, and cannot properly be said to have a home. With the merchant he has taken up the maxim 'ubi bene ibi patria'—wherever the conditions for work are most favorable there is his home. At present the migrations of the working class, aided greatly by our modern facilities

for transportation, constitute the most stupendous migration of nations mankind has ever witnessed. Of the modern proletarian it may be said with justice that he has become nomadic, and happy may he consider himself if in his peregrinations his wife and children can accompany him instead of being torn from his side.

"The same as the proletariat, does the merchant seek to become independent from his own threshold, and to let himself down wherever the interests of his business require it."

So far Kautsky. When the working class began to realize these facts then it commenced to dispute the right of robbery altogether and by natural necessity was forced to open the fight on the political field, seeing that its members have no economic means to fight with, and then and there the class struggle commenced. This political struggle, however, is a preliminary one and serves only to gain control of the means of production and, as soon as a point can be gained it must (like a battery) be turned on the enemy. The class struggle will never be finished unless it is finished on the economic field.

Now, let us see what Kautsky says in regard to this point. On page 11 we read: "All class struggle is a political struggle." On page 18, he refers to what he calls "Wild labor socialism" with the words: "It also was hostile to the class struggle—that is to say, to its highest form, its political form." and on page 20, he speaks "of the highest and most intelligent form of the class struggle—the political strife." From this we might judge that the struggle described above which was waged through all ages arose to the dignity of a class struggle as soon as it was carried over to the political field. However, another point of view is added on page 20 and 21, where he says:

"For the socialist movement and the necessary for Socialism to raise itself each other and to merge into one, it was necessary for socialism to raise itself above the sphere of utopianism. The class struggle of the proletariat acquires from that moment a different character. So long as it lacks the socialist system of production as its conscious aim, so long as the effort of the militant proletariat falls within the framework of the present system of production, so long does the class struggle move in a circle, without gaining an inch, and the labors of the proletariat to improve its condition resemble those of Sisyphus, who eternally rolled a stone up a hill never to see it roll back again, and to find himself no further at the beginning of the next day than he was at the beginning of the previous day. The abasing tendencies of the capitalist system of production are not removed, or at least they are only temporarily checked by the class struggle and its incidental victories."

From all this we might draw the conclusion that the economic struggle of the working class is bound to move within the framework of the present system of production, while the political struggle oversteps that line and alone is able to overstep it. But with that conclusion we would have to omit the fact that the struggle of the militant proletariat that falls within the framework of the present system of production is not merely an economic one, but has its own political tail which has nothing in common with the political strife for the socialist system of production, and, which on the contrary, with its tendency to compromise for the sake of temporary benefit, is even antagonistic to the class struggle, in which every compromise with the capitalist class, or even with single members thereof would mean a giving up of the final aim in favor of a temporary questionable benefit.

Furthermore, it has been shown that the struggle for the socialist system of production only became a possibility and a necessity with the development of the capitalist system and that it was all out of question and impossible before that system. On the other hand, we see that the struggle within the framework of the present condition has not at all ceased, but rages fiercer than ever, between the producers and exploiters, on the political field as well as on the economic field; therefore, let us for clearness' sake designate this kind of struggle

as the struggle for existence and give the name "Class Struggle" only to that which has the socialist system of production as its conscious aim. If we do that then, and only then, will we be able to draw a clear and sharp line all around our movement and keep everything out which is hostile or misleading in its tendency and by that safeguard it against attacks from all sides.

The fact that the struggle for existence and the class struggle are hostile to each other is even recognized plump and plain by Kautsky in the following passage (notwithstanding that he tries hard in the preceding two pages to explain it away). On page 20, he says: "No more than the utopian socialists of the upper classes were the early proletarian reformers" (and we may add also the present proletarian reformers) "able to overcome the antagonism that existed originally between socialism and the labor movement. True enough, the proletarian utopians were occasionally compelled to take a hand in the class struggle, but being devoid of any theoretical knowledge, their occasional participation in the class struggle did not mature into a consolidation of socialism with the labor movement, but in the suppression of the former by the latter. It is a notorious fact that wherever anarchism of whatever stamp, takes hold of the labor movement and temporarily enters upon the class struggle, it sooner or later, despite all its seeming radicalism, winds up in trades unionism, pure and simple, with all the impurity, corruption, and retrogression that the term implies."

Now, let us ask: Isn't it proletarian utopianism to claim that a fight for more wages is a class struggle?

Isn't it the height of proletarian utopianism when Kautsky says on page 20: "The American workman has every reason to wish and as far as in him lies to work for it, that the workingmen of European countries secure higher wages and shorter hours?" We need not answer these questions, we need only confront the last quotation with another one already quoted above, namely: "And the labors of the proletariat to improve its conditions resemble those of Sisyphus, who eternally rolled a stone up a hill ever to see it roll back again, and to find himself no further at the beginning of the next day than he was at the beginning of the previous day. The abasing tendencies of the capitalist system of production are not removed, or at best they are only temporarily checked by the class struggle and its incidental victories." Now, what else is the securing of higher wages and shorter hours than an incidental victory?

The fact that the struggle for higher wages and shorter hours on one side and the class struggle for the socialist system of production are hostile to each other is as natural as night and day. The struggle for shorter hours and higher wages, to be successful requires a force which absorbs all the energy and brain work of those engaged in it. It is the very same thing with the class struggle, with the difference only that the latter requires still more energy and brainwork. No wonder that the leaders of both are unable to come to an understanding and always will be at war with each other.

But yet it is an undeniable fact that both struggles are not only justified nowadays, but are an absolute necessity. The only way, therefore, to avoid eternal friction between both (of which only the capitalist class would be the beneficiary) seems to be to keep both separated and allow neither to interfere with the other. The struggle for higher wages and shorter hours is bound to outlive itself with the development of human society.

In conclusion I wish to say that I am almost sure that this will meet with opposition from some quarters, and therefore all and every comrade is hereby requested and challenged to say whatever he may have to say on the foregoing subject. Only by free and unlimited criticism will we be able to find and determine the right way.

A. Metzler.

Rochester, N. Y.

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Dr. Best, the leader of the Prohibitionists, who are mostly members of this sect, answered for them.

"We endorsed Mr. Powell, the Addicks' candidate, because he came to me and declared he was a temperate man and would vote for local option. We were interested only in the question of temperance; not in Addicks or anti-Addicks. But at a meeting the other day we were informed that there were doubts about whether Mr. Powell could help us, so we adopted a resolution to stay at home, and take no part in this election."

The other polling-booth was in a tenement close by a sawmill at Farmington. About it, over against the sawmill, stood silent groups of tenant farmers. Very few were not of the "po" white" class familiar in Southern States—with bleary light eyes, scant, scraggy beards, marks of improper nourishment and of physical degeneracy. Addicks' Senator, rosy, excellently dressed, director in several Bay State Gas companies, stood near, in front of them. He might typify to their dull eyes the splendor of Addicksism.

Men left the polling-booth by the back door, stood awhile among their neighbors by the sawmill, then disappeared.

"They are paying them off in the sawmill," remarked Senator Harrington.

"Can't you get evidence? Can't you stop it?"

"No—no use," he answered. "As soon as we approached, you would merely see a couple of men here and a couple of men there sitting on the log-run, or standing against the wall—nothing more."

We approached, and it was as he said. "If two or three persons could see money pass from an Addicks agent to a voter," he remarked, "Addicks would be in jail."

"We'll find out to-day who are Democrats and who are not," said ex-Senator Kenney, the county Democratic leader.

"We will indeed. But what good will it do?" went on Mr. Harrington. "A man came to me one night in November and said: 'This is the only coat I have. My children have no shoes. My wife hasn't had a new dress for I don't know how long. To-night they offered me \$25 for my vote. I refused it; I'm going to vote as I think; but I felt like I needed somebody to tell me 'That's right, stick to it.' So I said to him: 'Stick to it, Bill, and God bless you.' And after election we clipped in and bought some shoes for his children and a present for his wife. But we can't meet bribery with bribery, nor even with rewards of merit. We are not rich in Delaware. It's awful, what this one man Addicks has done to our people. Twenty dollars is a terrible temptation to flash before poor men like these at a time when no money is coming in. They are getting to expect it now, whichever way they vote. They have been depraved."

"I am looking at a man this moment," interrupted Cahall, a planter, "who told me just now that he had been offered \$18 this morning. 'How do you know you'll get it after you've voted?' I asked him. 'I don't need to worry about that,' he said, 'for I saw three men paid \$15 apiece in the sawmill this morning. 'Who was he?' Senator Harrington wanted to know.

"Jim Jenks," replied Cahall. "One of my men came to me this morning," Senator Harrington resumed, "and said the Addicks people got him out of bed at 4 o'clock this morning and gave him \$18 for his vote. He's voted, and I suppose he voted Addicks's way. They went all over the precinct last night in carriages after they got back from Philadelphia."

The sensation of the day, to the strangers, was the report that the Anti-Addicks Republican candidate had himself deserted to the common enemy. He had

been watched at the booth in Harrington, and his mark, the watcher declared, was on the Addicks Republican ballot. How he could know definitely, we could not discover; but from the moment he placed his own vote in the box it is a fact that the county chairman of the Anti-Addicks Republicans, Jenkins, ceased to have anything to do with him.

There is a simple way of showing what happened yesterday. Democrats lost 120 votes since the election last month; Addicks gained 72. If all the Prohibitionist and Holiness votes (27) and also all the anti-Addicks Republican votes (32) had gone over to Addicks, his ticket would still have had a plurality of only 483, instead of 496 as the count indicates. Many Democrats were prevailed upon to stay at home; but here are at least thirteen of them who voted for Addicks' Republican, for no reason but one.

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ADDICKS'S METHODS

BY WHOLESALE CORRUPTION HE ELECTS HIS MAN.

The Way the Purity of the Ballot is Upheld by That Capitalist in Delaware — How Arrangements Were Made With Voters.

Delaware, Dec. 31.—Addicks and his marshals have carried the day. Encouraged by anti-Addicks Republican, the Democratic County Committee resolved to spend no money on the bye-election for a representative to the Legislature from the Ninth District, where the Addicks Republican and the Democratic candidate each received 424 votes on November 4. The Democrats expected a complete victory.

At the count last night it was found that Addicks's man received 496 and the Democrat 304—a plurality of 192 won in a Democratic district by the Addicks' method. Two years ago, in the Presidential election, Senator Harrington, Democrat, received a plurality of 119 in that district. The Democrats are now asking themselves what they can do to stop the influence of Addicks' purse. They cannot stop it with a purse as big, if they wanted to, for they have not got it; and yesterday's results clearly indicate that the voters vote as they are paid to do.

Monday the Addicks' leaders went to Philadelphia to consult with their chief and receive the bank bills. They returned on an afternoon train to Harrington and to Farmington, the two precincts comprising the district to be conquered, and Addicks alighted at Wilmington. It was wondered how he would carry on the battle this time—for no two campaigns are conducted alike. Sometimes, in order to collect your money, you must present a black bean which has been given to you in the polling booth by the (Addicks) "voters' assistant" whom you have called to bear witness that "the goods" were delivered. Sometimes it is a gun-wad with holes punched in it, two holes meaning \$20, three holes meaning \$30. Sometimes the token is a campaign button, of which Addicks has bought the entire supply; and again there is a check-list, and when the "voters' assistant" emerges from the booth with his victim he gives a signal to the checker-off, lifting his hat or pulling down his cuff. In an election not long ago the agent stood upon a corner, like a county-fair fakir, with a package of banknotes folded conveniently over his forefinger. To-day, there being but two polling booths, visitors came from various places to look on; the method was not so open.

Most of the "work" had been done in advance. It was done in the farmhouses, man to man, or in the second-floor room of the yellow saloon building, which is one turn to the right and one to the left from the Harrington Railway station. Any citizen can direct you to the place, for all saw the activity there, and

many of them imagining what they could do with a \$20 bill, slid in there. Harrington is a farming town. As early as eight o'clock yesterday morning the bugles and carriages and express wagons, all mudspattered, hitched to shaggy unclipped horses and woolly mules, began to flourish up to the hitching-posts by the sidewalks. In another hour the main street was completely lined with them, and branch streets likewise, and thick groups of farmers with trousers tucked into strong leather boots gathered in groups. They are mostly tenant farmers; the land is let out to them by the landowners; and after the strawberries, the peaches, the wheat, and the grapes have been marketed, the money ceases to come in unless they turn a penny by climbing the slim gum trees, and cutting off that parasite mistletoe which city people will buy at Christmas.

The first words heard in Harrington's street yesterday morning were these, from one farmer to another: "What are they paying to-day?" "Eighteen seems to be the figure; some get twenty, and some get fifteen."

Sol Sapp, the Democratic candidate, was over by the ropes which make the passageway to the polling booth.

"How is it going, Mr. Sapp?" one asks of him.

"Oh, they've got it," he answers. "Got it by the hundred, sure."

In the booth the two voters' assistant, one Addicks Republican, one Democratic, corroborate him. "I haven't been called on but twice, and half the vote is in," says the Democrat.

The Addicks man has been busy, for

it is a custom for Addicks Republicans always to request assistance in voting, whether the voter knows perfectly how to mark his ballot or not. Thus a man who does not trust Addicks as paymaster and wishes to get his black bean or his gun wad is not made conspicuous.

"Where are the Democrats to-day?" was an inquiry.

"Well," is the answer from a local citizen, "those who didn't want to vote a Republican ticket agreed to stay at home for \$15."

This was repeated everywhere, every five minutes, as if it were something fixed and known.

"We have found," said ex-United States Senator Kenney, "that these rural voters, venal as they have become, cannot be induced to take money from one side and then aid the other. Some local leaders have said to them: 'Take Addicks' money if you will, but remember you are Democrats.'"

But they do what they have engaged to do. Most of them—compromise with partisan feelings by accepting money to stay away.

"Why do they do this—is it poverty?" somebody inquires.

"Not always," replies a present officer of the State Government. "I know farmers worth \$5,000 or \$10,000 who will sell their votes. Each party has a list of them. For ten years now Addicks has been demoralizing them. One will tell another that he is a fool not to make \$20, when he can, in the off season of the year; and the other will begin to think, 'Well, perhaps I am a fool not to take what's being passed around,'"

and then he will perhaps say it to his neighbor, and his neighbor will repeat him to the Addicks agent as one who would like to be an Addicks Republican, and he is put on the list to be looked up at the next election."

Payments were being made, it was said, in the back yard of the hotels, and in the second-story room of the yellow saloon. There was no way of getting evidence. Even if you allowed yourself to be bribed and then went to present your black bean and receive the money, there would be only two parties to the transaction, and in court as experience has shown, it would be simply your word against the denial of the briber.

Hearing some one ask a watcher at the polls how many voters had been registered, a man near by, decent and intelligent in appearance, broke in: "Only 312. There's no encouragement to vote to-day."

"Have you voted?"

"Not yet," he smiled.

"What encouragement do you want?" he was asked.

"Are you with Addicks?" he questioned in response.

"No."

"Then there's no use saying."

"What are the Holiness people doing to-day?" some one was moved to inquire.

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888.....	2,080
In 1892.....	21,157
In 1896.....	36,564
In 1900.....	34,191
In 1902.....	52,895

A SPECIMEN FROM THE QUARRY.

The Labor papers from Chicago reflect a strong movement under way in the ranks of Union Labor to set up Clarence S. Darrow as its candidate for Mayor in the approaching municipal election. The move, or thought, fitly headed by one of these papers with the question: "What shall we do to be saved?" is, in the domain of social science, what a fine mineral specimen would be to the mineralogist.

When mass-poverty had, relatively and absolutely touched in Rome the point of discontent, perpetual up-bubbling and threatening, all the physical conditions were at hand for a social overturn. The overturn did not come. What kept it off? The utter class-unconsciousness, in other words, the psychology unripeness, of the physical element by which alone the revolution could have been accomplished. The conclusive sign of this fatal unripeness was the poise of the masses on the head of leadership. To use their own terminology, they looked for "a man of senatorial rank" to lead them. In other words, the vigor that only a consciousness of their own class could impart, was absent. This quickening force being absent, the potentially revolutionary element relied, not on elements within, but on elements without its own camp "to be saved." The issue was that, catching at the straw of one sentimental leader "of senatorial rank" after another, the Roman masses finally developed into a pliant war-horse, ridden by the Caesars.

In reaching out beyond their own camp, for Clarence S. Darrow "to save them," the working class masses of Chicago are following in the footsteps of the Roman plebs. Mr. Darrow, the present counsel for the miners, is essentially a sentimentalist. He is of that sympathetic class, among the well-to-do and professional men, whose heart does more bleeding for the woes of the workman than his head does thinking in the workman's behalf. It was via the Gracchi that the Caesars came. The road that leads over the Darrow must be blocked: at the end of the avenue stands, ready waiting, the Man on Horseback.

It is no pedantic turn of mind that pushes the S. L. P. to preach unremittently, and insist upon keeping clear the line of demarcation between class interests; nor yet is it yearning for physical conflict that directs the Party to fan the flames of class antagonism. Just the reverse; pedanticism revels in phrases that argue likenesses where none exist, and nothing but sorrow flows from blindness to facts. Class-consciousness not merely renders the working class intelligent, above all it quickens among them that sense of self-respect and self-reliance, without which they would be just so much dead weight for the Socialist Movement to carry and Socialism would be impossible, but with which the workman becomes fit to carry the Socialist Movement, fit for emancipation.

ALL ROADS LEAD TO ROME.
At the reassembling of Congress, Senator Mason is to introduce a bill "in the interest of the public" so as to give relief in future emergencies of strikes. The plan is simple. So simple that it recalls Columbus' trick of standing an egg on end. It is to empower the Federal Attorney General, "in the name of the public," to apply to the courts for the appointment of a receiver, who SHALL HAVE THE POWER TO GET OUT THE COAL AND SELL IT, PAY THE MINERS AND MAKE A PROPER ACCOUNTING THROUGH THE COURTS TO THE OWNERS.

All roads lead to Rome. The old adage here receives as up-to-date as it is a brilliant application.

The "Rome," which the capitalist class seeks to reach, is amplexness of wealth—for themselves. This is a goal attainable only by the road of keeping the working class down, compelled to labor at a minimum. The common highway towards that "Rome" is becoming less and less passable. Macadamized as it is with the Macadam of the fiction "freedom to labor," it has become impassable at spots. The Macadam did well at one time, but it has worn out; the wheels of the capitalist wagon sink deep in the puddles that time and weather have worn into the thing. Such an "impasse" occurred last summer when the miners refused to work under the grievous conditions imposed upon them by the operators. As election was on, the miners had an unparalleled opportunity to win out, which is to say, to block the capitalists' progress to their Rome. But there was another road to Rome, and it was timely seized. With the aid of John Mitchell, the capitalists succeeded in inducing the miners to surrender, and return to work under the identical conditions that they had struck against. The "inducement" was an Arbitration Commission, but that, as is becoming plain even to the blind, was but a blind, it was but "another road to Rome."

Now, this road did well enough as an emergency road. But it has many inconveniences. Senator Mason proposes another road, and it certainly will lead to "Rome" with the directness of an arrow. The moment a strike breaks out, the Attorney General applies for, and, of course, obtains a receiver of the concern struck against. The receiver, a FEDERAL OFFICER, BACKED BY ALL THE PHYSICAL FORCE OF THE GOVERNMENT, then proceeds to run the concern and PAY THE WORKERS. — what workers? Why, those who will work under the conditions struck against. Not for nothing will that receiver be a Federal functionary, with all the Armies and Navies and Courts of the Nation at his call.

What Mitchell will now arise to serve as a Labor sign-post, and point out this Mason road to the Working Class, and thus again switch them from the forthright of Socialism?

TOSSING 'EM ON A BLANKET.

An article in the "Bakers Journal," on the "Socialist discussion" and vote at the late New Orleans convention of the A. F. of L., and bristling with points, is making the rounds of the trade journals. Two of these points merit mention.

The first point goes to confirm the views, often expressed in these columns, that the burrahs of the Socialist party, alias Social Democratic party men, on the score of "the large vote that their resolution got," are the merest bunkum. The "Bakers Journal" states that "the Socialist politicians" were, by reason of that vote, given "a prominence quite unwarranted by actual facts and sentiments." And it proceeds to convey the valuable information that the original resolution was whittled down by the "Socialist politicians" so as "to make it suitable to all tastes" until it became "a very harmless affair." Accordingly, so far from the said "large vote" being, what it has been termed in some quarters, "a lie given to the Socialist Labor Party theory," it together with all that thereby hangs, is just what The People has all along claimed: the regulation farce comedy "Boring from Within," which is annually performed on the stage of the A. F. of L. conventions by certain schemers as the leading actors, backed in good old classic style by a chorus and semi-choruses of the fatuous and the designing.

The next point made by the "Bakers Journal" is supplemental to the first:

Approach the subject as you may, by opening the doors of trades unions to party politics you will have to let in all parties for there is none that has not the welfare of the working class upon its program. . . . Now trades unions have the mission to unite all workers for the purpose of pooling their strength. . . . on questions having passed the state of theoretical discussion.

Who, what holds this language? Why, one of those pure and simple organizations, whom the above referred to "Socialist politicians" speak of as "noble wagers of the class struggle." And what is more, this organization voices accurately the sentiments of its whole kith and kin. Here, then, we have organizations, that claim to be limbs of the working class, and who,

In this year of grace 1902, still consider the class interests of Labor as not yet "having passed the state of theoretical discussion"! who placidly look upon the economic-political issues raised by the parties of capital as questions that, once they shall have passed the "state of theoretical discussion," may yet form a part of the pool on which it is the "mission of trades unions to unite their strength"!

The trades union theory advanced by the "Bakers Journal" supplements its exposure of the "Socialist politicians." It explains why, and it justifies the ill concealed contempt it has for the set by placing them in line with the capitalist parties. Men who will presume to handle so revolutionary a question as Socialism, and who resort to the quack doctor's artifice to ingratiate themselves; who, on the top of that, pursue the patent medicine man's craftiness of seeking advertisement by "endorsements"; and who cap the climax by the cowardly act of supporting with their vote the arch-adversary of their "principles" for president, and by the dishonest act of themselves accepting an election as "representative" abroad of a body that, if they are sincere, they can not act as a representative of;—such men are fit only to be tossed on a blanket, as the "Bakers Journal" neatly does the "Socialist politicians."

THE ON-COMING "UNION CARD."

The move of the United States Steel Corporation, to turn its employees into stockholders, has been quickly adopted by the Pressed Steel Car Company. In more or less amended form, the move is essentially the same.

Is the move a sporadic one? Is it, perhaps one limited to just one, the iron and steel industry? Or does the plutocratic stage, that upper capitalism has developed into, and which brings and has brought the magnates of all industries into one camp—the financiers camp, around one green table—the banker's table, denote that the move will be general? Of course, as yet, sufficient facts are not in court to justify a positive conclusion. Nevertheless, such facts as are in, together with such signs as the projected mammoth cigar factory in Chicago by the Tobacco Trust, where "none but union men are to be employed," warrant the risking of a theory.

The on-coming "Union Card" is to change complexion. It will cease to be a 3x5 inch bit of paste-board or booklet, and will become a "Certificate of Stock." Wide-reaching will be the results thereof.

Hitherto the "Unionman" paid his dues to the Union office. In many cases the employer is now acting as the collecting agent. The funds thus collected have to be turned over to the Union. The "Certificate of Stock" card will obviate all that was herein objectionable to the employer.

First. The "Unionman's" dues will henceforth cease to run into the Union's treasury; they will run straight into the employer's bank.

Second. The labor-leutenants of the capitalist class are side-tracked.

Third. The bond that will hold the "Unionmen" together in their "noble waging of the class struggle" will be the galley slave's emulation: fear of being cut out from dividends, enthusiasm in converting as much life tissue as possible into dividends.

Statistics of Labor Bureaus will bulge with tables demonstrating, to the fraction of a decimal fraction, the upwardness of a decimal fraction, the upwardness of "prosperity of the workingmen." From being, as they once were, propertyless men and women "giving a color to the vicious Socialist theory about classes," things will be shown to have changed so materially that now "the 'workingman' has taken his place by the side of the 'capitalist,' and the interests of both vibrate in union in the stock exchanges of the land."

Finally the warring theories will quit their wrangles. Sects will disappear. The Messiah being an intangible magnitude, disputes concerning him are bound to spring up. Being present, sensible to feeling as to sight (at least statistically) the new Messiah will be acknowledged by all. Peace and happiness will reign on earth. And the token will be the new "Union Card." Who would refuse jumping on the bandwagon? Who would still "crock"?

Not for nothing have great things been prophesied for the 20th Century.

REMEMBER
"MOZLE"
CIGARETTES

CONTENTED DELAWARE.

Little Delaware has just been "convinced from center to circumference." What about? That's the rub.

On Tuesday, the 30th of December, there was a bye-election in one of her Districts for Representative to the Legislature. It was an election to break a tie: the constituency is small; the office at stake insignificant. For all that, the event was notable.

Last November the voting in the Kent county Ninth Representative District for the Legislature resulted in a tie. Had the issue of the election been any otherwise, it would not have had any determining effect on the "one great issue" before the Legislature and the whole State. That "one great issue" is Addicks—J. Edward Addicks, a Bay State Gas Company magnate.

Addicks aspires to a seat in the United States Senate; has a following as a nominal Republican; has, of course, "regular" and "irregular" competitors; though he leads on joint ballot, yet he lacks the requisite majority for an election. The result has been a deadlock. This result has carried others in its wake.

During the dead-lock to fill the vacancy aspired to by Addicks, a second vacancy occurred in the Delaware Senate: the slogan that quickly went up on both sides turned on Addicks: it was "Addicks, or Delaware's two seats in the Senate shall remain vacant," and "No Addicks, or Delaware's two seats shall remain vacant."

On top of this second dead-lock, other dead-locks have followed, and more are threatened: Both sides threaten to block up all legislation, unless they succeed in electing or defeating Addicks, as the case may be. And thus the merry fight has gone on for years.

Looked at impartially, there is no difference whatever between Addicks and any other United States Senator, the sentimental Hoar of Massachusetts, perhaps, excepted. Like Addicks, they are all rich capitalists, and aspire to become richer. Like Addicks there is not one of them whose wealth was not attained by ways and means neatly suggested by the distich:

The higher the plum-tree, the riper the plum;
The richer the cobbler, the blacker his thumb.

Like Addicks, they all seek to dignify the pig-sty source of their affluence and power with the Senatorial mantle, and, inversely, to turn the Senatorial mantle into more dollars and cents. Finally, just like Addicks, they all have their "machine," and use it for all it is worth. All this notwithstanding, inside and outside of Delaware the anti-Addicks sentiment has wrapped itself in the cloak of morality and holiness. Their poise is that of Crusaders enlisted on a sacred mission of "purifying elections," with Delaware as the Peter the Hermit in this 20th Century "Down on the Unclean Infidel" movement.

It is in view of all this that the recent Kent county Ninth District bye-election has its significance. Addicks was short six votes on joint ballot. One more vote in the Legislature would not change results. But "each vote counts," and so the fight was bitter: "Honesty" and "Dishonesty" showed the teeth to each other. And what happened?

At the November election there were four tickets in the field: the Addicks Republican candidate with 424 votes, the Democratic candidate with 424 votes, the Regular Republican candidate with 34 votes, and the Prohibition candidate with 27 votes. Of these four, the Prohibition party is essentially a religious party. It consists mainly of Holiness men—an extreme branch of Methodists whose special effort is to "spread holiness." And now came the bye-election. What became of the "Holiness men"? They vanished. What became of the sanctimonious "Anti-Addicks," or "Regular Republicans"? They vanished. And what became of the "sturdy Jefferson Democrats," who turned up their noses and passed the other way at the very mention of a Republican, an Addicks Republican especially? Well, they did not quite vanish. The election returns tell the whole tale: Only two tickets turned up. The Addicks candidate, whose poll rose from 424 to 496, and was elected; and the Democratic candidate, whose poll dropped to 304. Who furnished the 72 votes that Addicks won? Was it the absentee Democrats? or the absentee Regular Republicans? or did all of these "chips in"?

Delaware may be little. But at times littleness may be great. Delaware illustrates the point. In her confines there is not a ripple of what is called "discontent." The Single Taxers once tried to start the ripple there, but failed. Delaware is "contented." Unstirred, even by cat's-paws of the outside storm, that is rising and portending a new era via new issues, "contented" Delaware, like Parolles' virginity, "breeds mites, much like cheese,"—and is proud of it.

Another professor has discovered that Rockefeller's money is tainted and therefore cannot be morally used in education. That is good, but it is not enough. To say that Rockefeller should be condemned for "underselling poor men, crowding them out of business and immediately raising the price of the very ware, which they would not allow other men to sell," is to look at the matter from a middle-class-consumer's standpoint. It implies a desire to see the little man re-established. This is reactionary and would prove of no benefit, for were the poor men given an opportunity they would undersell Rockefeller and do the same as he. This is due to the inherent nature of their business. They only differ from Rockefeller in degree and not in kind. What is wanted then to complete the professor's discovery is the fact that Rockefeller must be replaced by Socialism and the immense economic benefits of his industries diverted from him to the working class.

The newspapers are again pointing to the growth in national banking as an index of the prosperity of the country. Frank Vanderlip, a recognized authority on banking, has shown that this growth is mainly due to the conversion of trust securities into bank collateral. He has shown that in the concentration of industry the owners of the plants combined have been paid in stock largely in excess of the true value, and that these stocks have been deposited in banks and accepted by them as collateral. Thus, according to him, this growth is due to the great movement toward trustification, and is to a great extent fictitious. In that it is based on over-capitalization. When, then, the newspapers say that this financial growth is an index of the prosperity of the country, we are compelled to state the facts. The capitalist class is not the country. It is but 2 per cent. of the population.

VERY MUCH CONTENTED DELAWARE.

Full accounts of the bye-election in the Kent County Ninth Representative District of Delaware are now in. Even more so than we had anticipated, the occurrence is noteworthy.

The reports tell of systematic, matter-of-fact, business-like corruption. From \$15 to \$35 were paid for a vote, or for an adversary to abstain from voting. Who the people, thus practiced upon, were the reports are quite full on:

They are mostly tenant farmers; the land is let out to them by the landowners; and after the strawberries, the peaches, the wheat, and the grapes have been marketed, the money ceases to come in unless they turn a penny by climbing the slim gum trees, and cutting

ting off that parasite mistletoe which city people will buy at Christmas.

Again:
The other polling-booth was in a tenement close by a sawmill, at Farmington. About it over against the sawmill, stood silent groups of tenant farmers. Very few were not of the "po' white" class familiar in Southern States—with bleary light eyes, scant, scraggy beards, marks of improper nourishment and of physical degeneracy. Addicks's Senator, rosy, excellently dressed, director in several Bay State Gas companies, stood near, in front of them. He might typify to their dull eyes the splendor of Addicksism. Men left the polling-booth by the back door, stood awhile among their neighbors by the sawmill, then disappeared. "They were paying them off in the sawmill." Again:

An old reputable citizen told this story: "A man came home one night in November and said: 'This is the only coat I have. My children have no shoes. My wife hasn't had a new dress for I don't know how long. Tonight they offered me \$25 for my vote. I refused it; I'm going to vote as I think; but I felt like I needed somebody to tell me 'That's right, stick to it.' So I said to him: Stick to it, Bill, and God bless you. And after election we clipped in and bought some shoes for his children and a present for his wife. But we can't meet bribery with bribery, nor even with rewards of merit. We are not rich in Delaware. It's awful, what this one man Addicks has done to our people. Twenty dollars is a terrible temptation to flash before poor men like these at a time when no money is coming in. They are getting to expect it now, whichever way they vote. They have been depraved.'"

In the picture of misery, drawn by the above descriptions, there is nothing new, or exceptional; just such poverty is known to exist from New York across to California. Nor is the picture of the political corruption, that misery pinches man to, one peculiar to Delaware: from California back to New York, such scenes are the invariable accompaniment to elections everywhere. It is not, cannot be otherwise. And yet, for all that, between the conditions that are being revealed by Delaware campaigns, and the conditions revealed by campaigns in most other States, there is a difference as deep and as marked as there is between the Dismal Swamp and fields, that, though submerged, are pregnant with rich pasture and forest growths, struggling into sunlight and life.

In most other States, the SPIRIT OF DISCONTENT has more or less raised its head. More or less blind, as yet; more or less intelligent, the rejuvenating Spirit is there. DISCONTENT is a symptom of physical, intellectual and moral virility. It is a spark that, tho' it may flare up into devastating conflagration, is alone capable to shoot up into the flame that purifies, the flame that consumes the decaying vegetation of a dying social order, and warms into growth and vigor, rich foliage and fruit, the vegetation of a new social order. Where there is DISCONTENT, there HOPE is. Inspired by the fire of the former, buoyed up on the wings of the latter, in most other States, the nucleus is gathering of men and women determined to resist the incubus of POVERTY, groping to find the way out, resolute to grapple with the problem, resolute to solve it. And thus, while all around them, the mephitic gases of corruption, emitted by the springs of physical, intellectual and moral virility, hover at political campaigns, this rebel, DISCONTENTED nucleus stands out as a rain-bow promise of the future, and illumines the field,—illumines it in the measure of the virile intelligence of their discontent.

Not so in Delaware. In contented Delaware, no sign there of DISCONTENT. No "pestiferous agitators" have there conjured up the "Monster." From "po' whites" down to "reputable citizens," they are all contented. To them, "as things are, they have ever been, world without end, Amen!" Net result,—popular, hopeless, admitted, and acquiesced in degeneration.

Delaware is very much contented. Wee to her breed!

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BUSINESS DEPARTMENT NOTES.

These notes had to be omitted for the week ending Saturday, December 27. We now take them up from where they were left off, December 20.

First, as to The Monthly People. For the week ending December 27, a total of 417 subscriptions were received, and 524 for the week ending Saturday, January 3.

Comrade Adam Marx, of New London, Conn., wins the prizes offered by Comrade Butterworth, of Paterson, N. J., and The Monthly People, he having sent in 180 names, the largest number of subscribers during December. Comrade Marx says it is the easiest proposition he ever tried. Being out of work he started out and few refused him. His sample copy got soiled beyond recognition as it passed from one grimy hand to another. There is no S. L. P. organization in New London, but Marx believes The Monthly People will be the means of getting material for one.

The getting of subscriptions shows the difference in men and their methods. We send out a blank to one man asking him to try and get ten names. He sends it back with his own name and ten cents. Another will more than fill the list.

Comrade Julius O. Johnson offers a year's subscription to The Daily People to the person sending in the most subs to the Monthly during January. To this offer The Monthly People adds \$5 worth of books from the catalogue of the New York Labor News Company. Another comrade offers free a complete course in typewriting at the Waldo Typewriting Company for the largest number of Monthly subs from January 1 to March 1, both inclusive, and still another prize is one which is limited. This last prize, a year's subscription to The Daily People, is offered by a Colorado sympathizer, to the person sending in the most Monthly People subs from that State from January 10 to February 10, both dates inclusive.

The Monthly People is surely pushing its way. We could not begin to publish the commendatory letters concerning it which we receive. From far away Australia comes an inquiry as to the feasibility of its use there for propaganda.

The following workers for the Monthly sent in ten or more subs, as indicated. This covers period from December 22 to January 3:

Adam Marx, New London, Conn.	200
Percy Kent, Toronto, Can.	30
A. R. Ibbotson, Winnipeg, Can.	20
Chas. Bergman, W. Superior, Wis.	20
E. Norling, Pasco, Wash.	20
Jos. Davey, Cleveland, O.	20
J. L. Hunter, Marion, Ind.	20
W. H. Carroll, Brooklyn, N. Y.	19
J. H. Blewitt, Wilmerding, Pa.	19
Chas. Pollard, San Antonio, Tex.	18
A. Anderson, Eureka, Cal.	16
A. Tiveston, San Francisco, Cal.	15
A. C. Wirtz, Barstow, Cal.	15
J. H. Wilton, Staten Island, N. Y.	13
T. Jeffrey, Edinburgh, Scotland	13
A. Jacobson, Boston, Mass.	12
H. A. Muller, Richmond, Va.	11
E. Seidel, Philadelphia, Pa.	11
W. Walker, Edinburgh, Scotland	11
F. Herz, Providence, R. I.	10
Carl Spahr, San Antonio, Tex.	10
Thos. F. Brennan, Salem, Mass.	10
M. M. Kitching, Minneapolis, Minn.	10
W. J. Hoag, Tacoma, Wash.	10
J. F. Gingenbach, Erie, Pa.	10
Enoch Crews, Santa Cruz, Cal.	10
G. Stevens, E. St. Louis, Ill.	10
C. W. Brandenburg, Henning, Minn.	10
Fred Larson, Deer Creek, Okla.	10
J. Bjorkman, Worcester, Mass.	10
C. M. Carlson, Tacoma, Wash.	10
Max A. Goltz, Winona, Minn.	10
Frank Leitner, San Antonio, Tex.	10
Ed Schade, Newport News, Va.	10
E. Halpin, Steubenville, O.	10
V. C. Konecny, Two Harbors, Minn.	10
F. H. Conant, Tacoma, Wash.	10
I. Goldman, Hackensack, N. J.	10

The Weekly People is holding its own well—158 yearly subs during the past two weeks. Although there can be no doubt that some of the energy devoted to the Monthly has been diverted from the Weekly, this will be more than paid back to the Weekly as readers of the Monthly come to want the Weekly.

The Weekly People banner contest between the subdivisions of Section New York is again on. The Thirty-fifth Assembly District now holds the banner, and a member of the district says they intend to keep it. Comrades of other districts, however, are as determined to get the banner for their districts. The contest closes January 31. The conditions are that subscriptions are to be for not less than six months (25 cents). Yearly subscriptions count just the same as six month ones—that is, one yearly and one for six months count equally in the contest. Subs secured in any of the five boroughs of the city are eligible. In order to have the credit go to your district mark on the back of the blanks sent in your name, address and the number of your assembly district.

Blanks have been sent out to members. If more are wanted send a postal and a supply will be sent.

Many out-of-town readers, who can-

(Continued on Page 6.)



UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN.

BROTHER JONATHAN—I wonder why it is the Socialist must reason so benign a principle as theirs with the sauce of hatred?

UNCLE SAM—Do they? B. J.—Why, certainly they do. Don't you know that they preach class hatred? U. S.—No, I don't; and what's more I know they don't. We are organized in our union aren't we?

B. J.—Yes. U. S.—Why do we do so? B. J.—Because, if we didn't, the employer would skin us worse than he does now.

U. S.—So, then, you admit there is a class conflict between us, workmen and the employer?

B. J.—Yes. U. S.—And is the fact that we recognize the fact a seasoning of our organization with the sauce of hatred?

B. J.—No, but— U. S.—No "buts." The Socialists do not season their benign principles with the sauce of hatred, but only with the sauce of common sense.

B. J.—Will you deny that the Socialists are always saying that they aim at the conquest of powers by the working class?

U. S.—No; I don't deny that; on the contrary, I admit it and approve of it.

B. J.—Very well; and what, pray, do you call that if not seasoning a good principle with hatred, class hatred. How can one class win without another losing?

U. S.—It simply can't be done; right you are in that!

B. J.—Now, how can you deny that sort of thing is a seasoning of hatred. Classes are bad things; where they exist rows, conflict, hatred must be. What would be the use of wiping out one class by setting up another?

U. S.—Now you begin to talk sense.

B. J.—There, then, you agree, don't you, that this setting up one class and setting down of another keeps up class rows and hatreds?

U. S.—I fully agree that to set up one class and set down another, and keeping up class distinctions don't set us further on the road toward a humane existence.

B. J.—Well, I'm glad to hear you say so. That's all I meant.

U. S.—No; that's not all you meant.

B. J.—What else could I mean?

U. S.—What you said was that the Socialists aim of bringing the working class into power was a seasoning of hatred, because class conflicts are bound to continue if the thing is merely the bouncing of one class and the enthroning of another.

B. J.—That's just what I said.

U. S.—And, if that means anything, it means that the victory of the working class would be similar to the victories of all other classes: a change of oppressors?

B. J.—That's it!

U. S.—And that is wrong.

B. J.—How so?

U. S.—If you drop a lighted parlor match into a box of gun powder, it will explode, eh?

B. J.—Yes.

U. S.—And if you drop a lighted sulphur match into that box—

B. J.—It will explode likewise.

U. S.—Does it follow from that, that whatever you drop into that box, an explosion will follow?

B. J.—Ponders.

U. S.—If you drop a tumbler full of water into it—

CORRESPONDENCE.

Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name will attach such name to their communications, besides their own signature and address. None other will be recognized.

The "Appeal to Reason" Caught Lying Again.

To The Daily and Weekly People:—George Fred Williams, one of the most prominent of the radical wing of the Democrats in Massachusetts, has openly espoused the cause of the Socialist party, and will devote his time and ability to its upbuilding. (Appeal to Reason, November 22, 1902, eighth page, fifth column).

This statement was brought to my attention by a friend as a proof that the Multi-Nominal party was growing in influence and power, and as the "Appeal to Reason" is used by the Kanga as campaign leaflets this statement probably influenced a large number of Democrats to vote the so-called Socialist ticket in the city elections, as some of them believe in and worship the man regardless of what the principle he is standing for represents.

Knowing this I wrote Mr. Williams, and quoted the statement at length. I also added: "This is very important, and you should either affirm or deny the same: the reason why I call your attention to the above statement, is because of its significance."

I enclose Mr. Williams' reply, this will help clear up the matter.

"Boston, Dec. 22, 1902."

"Mr. Jeremiah Devine, North Abington, Mass."

"My Dear Sir:—Pardon my delay in answering your favor of the eighth."

The statement made in the Appeal to Reason was without justification in fact. I have announced my intention of fighting the coming year for the Democratic organization, and of course that would be entirely inconsistent with a decision on my part to openly espouse the cause of the Socialist party."

"I have not denied this statement: because I never deny newspaper falsehoods."

"They are so many in number that I should be kept answering them all the time if I should undertake it, so I leave them to be answered by my record. Very truly yours,

"George Fred Williams."

Thus, Mr. Williams refuses to allow his record to be sullied by the "Socialist" (?) party—and I do not blame him.

Of course every one knows that the Republican and Democratic parties are corrupt—rotten to the core, but as bad as they are—the Multi-Nominal party is no better.

This letter of Mr. Williams is also a proof of how reliable (?) such irresponsible capitalist papers are—they trade upon the reputation of men who have a large following.

Perhaps it would be well to suggest to Mr. Wayland that he mount his bronco, and take his lariat—and round-up Teddy, Mark Hanna, Civic Federation and all—as the members of that infamous body believe in "organized labor," especially when they are able to control it; as it ignores the class struggle. Besides Teddy, is "a good union man, and almost a Socialist." By acting upon this suggestion the Kanga could secure harmony and unity between Mark and Teddy. They would also have a strong organization, and could fight the Socialist Labor Party to a greater advantage.

It is the object of the "Socialist party" now, as it ever has been to put the only working class party out of existence and this is the basis upon which they could unite.

Recently the paper referred to stated that "during the coal strike the miners of Pennsylvania were confined in bullpens similar to the one that was established in Idaho"—but it did not advise its readers to read "The Story of the Bull Pen."

Why? They are afraid they might antagonize other parties—and to quote from one of their speakers during the late campaign, Harding (one of them) said: "We do not want to antagonize others who do not agree with us."

Need more be said?

Jeremiah Devine,

North Abington, Mass., Dec. 29, 1902.

Tacoma's Special Edition of "Prosperity."

To The Editor of The Daily and Weekly People:—The following ad. in the Tacoma Evening News appeared lately.

"RUMMAGE SALE."

"The ladies of St. Peter's church will hold a rummage sale in the Longshoremen's Hall on Thursday next, etc., etc."

Having their curiosity excited thereby, two comrades of the Socialist Labor Party decided to investigate. They found heaps of women's clothing strewn on tables, second-hand dresses, hats, shoes, underwear, etc. There were also broken and cracked glassware, dishes, pots, pans, stoves, bits of carpet, "springless" wire mattresses, crumpled "bedsteads, musty bed ticks, and other old junk, that a rag-picker wouldn't carry away. On another table were dilapidated toys, books and curios, which the children of the capitalist class, no doubt, had cast aside. The ladies explained that all this was for "the needy poor."

LETTER-BOX

Off-Hand Answers to Correspondents.

[No questions will be considered that come in anonymous letters. All letters must carry a bona fide signature and address.]

Another Prize for Monthly People Workers.

To The Daily and Weekly People:—With a view to more rapidly increase the circulation of The Monthly People I make the following offer, which please announce in The Daily and Weekly People:

A free and complete course in typewriting, at the Waldo Typewriting Co.'s establishment, 18 West Thirty-fourth street, to any one sending in the largest number of subscriptions to the Monthly People between the first day of January and first day of March, 1903, both days inclusive. Subscriptions reaching The People office before January first and after March first, 1903, are not within the scope of this offer.

The person sending in the highest number of subscriptions may, if he or she elect, assign, sell or transfer the prize herein offered to any person he or she may desire.

NOTE—We are not at liberty to publish the name of the comrade making this offer but can guarantee it.

"Socialists" as Crooked in Belleville, Ill., as Elsewhere.

To The Daily and Weekly People:—I herewith give the record of the Socialist party or whatever they may call themselves in this city. In 1900 Debs, the great strike breaker, spoke here under the auspices of Trades Assembly, receiving \$125 for his little talk. During his talk he did not mention Socialism at all but told the workers to join their respective trades unions as that was the best weapon to get a fair day's pay.

In April this year I noticed in the Chicago Socialist paper that a charter was granted to Belleville with John Wachter as organizer. I went to see this John Wachter and ask him about it, which he said was true. Later in the fall I saw him and asked him if he intended to get any speaker here. In reply he said they would not, as he did not see what good he could do for them, as we, the S. L. P. members, would throw shurs at their speakers and call them felons.

In the fall election Wachter was out working for Carl Montag, a Democratic candidate for county clerk, and said he would vote for no one else. In the election the Socialist party fell from 100 votes in 1900 to 9 votes this year, and did not receive a vote in the first ward, where this John Wachter lives, though he is still credited as being organizer of Local Belleville in the Chicago Socialist.

On December 18 the Builders' Exchange locked out all the union men in the building line. The reason given is because the bad carriers refused to carry bricks made by Ittner's brick yard, which is run by non-union men, the union men having gone on a strike there about three years ago. The builders say these same bricks (by Ittner's) are being carried and laid by union men in East St. Louis and St. Louis, and they want the same privilege that those bosses are getting. Walter Goss, Belleville, Ill., Dec. 30, 1902.

Monthly People Takes Well in Scotland.

To The Daily and Weekly People:—Here with enclose a list of my little coterie of subscribers to your new enterprise, The Monthly People.

There are eleven in all, with money order for \$5. 2d., which, I think, covers their subscriptions for one year. They are all young men and non-Socialists and have each paid their own 20 cents, some adding a little to cover the price of the money order.

Allow me to offer my congratulations on the adoption of such a splendid idea for furthering Socialist propaganda.

The price hardly allows of a refusal, while the acceptance lays every honest and reasonable workman open to the possibility of becoming a class-conscious Socialist and a weapon against the brigand class that club and rob them. I will use my best endeavors to get as many more subscribers as I can and will send them on either myself or through the librarian at the S. D. H. club room here.

W. Walker, Edinburgh, Scotland, Dec. 22, 1902.

A Present and a Defense.

To The Daily People Christmas Box.—Please find postoffice money order to the above mentioned box. I hope every member in the party will donate whatever little they can for our party press is certainly first at all times. Without that we could do but very little, and I only regret, however much it is true, that not every one of the comrades can send The People one day's earnings.

I am sorry to learn the much unexpected news about N. L. Griest, and I believe that much of it is founded upon imagination of people who have not personally known Griest. I have known him since 1898. The first time in Denver and I will say that at that time and after his trip in the East, he was no more of a fair than the very people who now brand him as such. I am willing to admit that Griest has made a fair of himself by his late doings and deserves to be exposed but, while in the movement he was full of courage and enthusiasm, which he proved more than once during his active years here in Colorado and he kept the movement clean, which was also shown after the battle in 1899.

I believe we should expose all members like Griest who have gone back on their own principles, but, in doing so, I believe we should confine our saying at least to the truth; don't you?

Nels Anderson, Gladstone, Col., Dec. 28, 1902.

It has been found that the power of the Railroad Commission to relieve the crush on city cars is unlimited. Commissions in general are only unlimited in their usefulness to the capitalist class.

A Joplin (Mo.) man objected to his minister's remarks and smote him therefore. He evidently was a church militant or should we, in these Rooseveltian days, call him a strenuous Christian?

N. S. BOSTON, MASS.—How can you blame the S. L. P. for not being "agreeable"? Would you have it be agreeable to men plotting to scuttle the Labor Movement?

J. A. H. FESTUS, MO.—You made a mistake not to pull up short after your fourth line. By filling six pages with your distribute you have tickled our curiosity to know what unholy scheme of yours we have smashed.

J. N. SEATTLE, WASH.—1st. The advice of the S. L. P. to the disfranchised black workers in the South is to organize in the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, and rest on their arms ready to join their as yet not disfranchised Northern and Southern fellow wage slaves when the time comes.

Rest next week.

L. G. U. WOONSOCKET, R. I.—Here are some illustrations of the point: Eaton of Tobin's union is a small farmer originally; he took to the union as a business venture and, of course, ran it on the middle class plan. Arlington Smith of the New York Independent Shoe Workers, is a small real estate holder, he labor-leadered his union on the small real estate holder plan. Penna of the Mine Workers' Union became a small operator himself, etc., etc. These are the pure and simple union starters. The unions either start as middle class ventures, or they land within that sphere.

W. P. S. ALTOONA, PA.—Get a copy of Plutarch, and read the life of Pelopidas. If we can get someone to transcribe it, shall publish it in these columns.

J. H. NEW YORK.—Toe the chalk mark, man! Toe the chalk mark! Would you dare denounce the Cigarmakers' Label Committee of this city? You know it is a corrupt and useless body. Why dare you not speak up? You are muzzled by the union. The union dominates your party.

T. T. McD., WORCESTER, MASS.—What the Rev. McCartney wants to make people believe is that a political party will do what his party did, drop its own name, and go out of its way to pick up one that will cause confusion against its own interests. The gentleman is simply at his old trade.

G. G. NEW YORK.—Granted without discussion, funds are necessary to carry on agitation. For that very reason, funds that throttle agitation are worthless. The speaker who speaks, thanks to the funds granted by a labor lieutenant of capital, is a muzzled speaker. His agitation is anti-agitation. No class has been more exposed to misdeeds than the working class. With it sound reasoning is more essential than it was with any other revolutionary class. Don't mistake bait for food.

D. G. L. COLUMBUS, O.—That batch of expellees, announced in that N. E. C. report, does not mean "a new outbreak." It is but a portion of the dead cockroaches, killed off last September by Section New York. The section's broom moves slowly; then also there was the campaign. The batch you saw happened to be swept off on that day.

B. S. NEW YORK.—Did you read the recently published letter from an Idaho Social Democrat or "Socialist party" man? It should prepare you for what will happen. In many places where Socialist Labor Party literature was read, S. L. P. organizers had not yet penetrated. When the "Socialist," alias Social Democratic party organizer got there he organized the people in his party. These people will find out. They are bound to march with bag and baggage into the S. L. P.

T. L. A. NEW YORK.—You want a frank answer. You shall have it. We don't know of a single leader in your New York Social Democratic party, who believes Socialism is possible, or has any faith in the working class. What they are after is pennies, and they are willing to exploit the discontent.

J. S. PORTLAND, ORE.—The trouble is you have overlooked the point of importance in Marx' Capital, the one point that he claims the right of the discoverer on. It is the use-value quality of labor-power. The use-value quality of a coat is to give warmth, of bread is to feed, of labor power is to produce more value than its exchange value comes to. So that after having paid the \$5 exchange value for a coat, you have enjoyed its warmth-giving use value; after having paid the 5 cents exchange value for a loaf, you have enjoyed its food-giving use value; and after having paid the \$1 exchange value for the labor-power of a workman, the capitalist enjoys its \$2 surplus wealth-yielding use-value.

H. W. W. DENVER, COLO.—The strain on the Socialist Labor Party is severe; and yet nothing to what that strain will yet be. In that, and in the Party's powers of resistance and endurance, lies the test of its fitness.

"CRITIC" LOS ANGELES, CAL.—We hold your Trades Union policy to be false. At the same time we hold your wing of the so-called Socialist party alone is true to itself. It is dishonesty to praise the Austrian Social Democracy, which has placed itself upon the identical position that you have, and then turn and denounce your position—as those members of your party do, who oppose and vituperate your conduct.

R. B. PATTERSON, N. J.—A good idea. But did you stop to reflect that, in order to carry out, this paper would need a larger staff, and that that means more funds?

R. C. BOSTON, MASS.—Don't throw up your arms in amazement. Whenever you see anyone suddenly double on the S. L. P., just seek to ascertain the material interests that are ruddering him. A diligent search is ever rewarded with the finding of the thing you are looking for. Above all, be not a Socialist in one corner of your mouth, and a simperton in the other. Don't talk

material interests, and then ignore them.

A. L. G. BOSTON, MASS.—No doubt many a small New England farmer loses his head and jumps overboard into the seething waters of city life before the ship of his small farm has become wholly unseaworthy. He may have kept it and himself afloat some time longer. But how comes it that he loses his head? It is because he sees all around him other small farmers who hung on until they were capsize and got drowned.

W. W. SAULT STE. MARIE, ONT.—It is not common sense, but the reverse of common sense, to argue that, if the demand for labor is brisk, wages are bound to rise. You overlook an important factor in the problem, to wit, the number of the unemployed. If the army of enforced idleness is small enough to be wholly absorbed, and especially if the demand still continues to exceed the supply, then, of course, wages will rise. But that is not the case. The labor market is so overstocked that, even when demand breaks up, the supply remains greatly in excess. This being the condition, a brisk demand does not raise wages. What a brisk demand does is to furnish wages to some of the former unemployed. Perhaps you call the earning of wages by one, who, as an unemployed, was earning none at all, a "rise." That would only be some more lack of common sense on your part.

P. J. S. SEATTLE, WASH.—"Winkel Advokat" is a German term of opprobrium, applied to disreputable people who dabble at law. A "Winkel Advokat" is not a shyster, altho' the two terms partly cover similar areas. A shyster at least went through the form of getting his parchment, and right to practice law. Not so a "Winkel Advokat." A "Winkel Advokat" is to a regular and reputable lawyer what a wild cat bank (you will have heard of the thing in the West) is to a regular bank.

W. R. ONEONTA, N. Y.—There is hardly a trade (do you know of any?) in which there is no organization of some sort. The bulk of the wage earners are not organized, not for want of an organization to join, but because they decline to join the existing pure and simple ones. It is, consequently, a fool's or a dishonest man's argument to say that the S. T. & L. A. was meant to set up rival unions, but to "organize the unorganized." To organize the unorganized means immediate conflict with some existing organization. The new one need not start the war; the old one will and quickly too. Look out for the man who advances such a "reasoning" against the Alliance.

M. L. R. TORONTO, CAN.—Very curious to know how the Kanga and Kanglets looked at the Party's vote?

Every soul of them sat open-mouthed.

Like roasted oysters, gaping in a row.

A. L. WATERBURY, CT.—The name of the corporation that owns and publishes the "Volkszeitung" and "Worker" is not Volkszeitung Association. The name it is incorporated under is "Socialistic Publishing Association." Shall inquire on the other matter.

M. T. T. NEW YORK.—Extremes meet. Your "get there quick" party seeks to avoid difficulties. He who does not know that would verily believe your set is in love with difficulties and miseries. The straight road looks thorny. It, however, is the truly smooth one. The crooked road looks smooth, it, however, is the one strewn with pitfalls.

D. S. H. NEW YORK.—Sheathe your fury. "Tis lost on the S. L. P., and only uses you up. There will be none of you left at the rate you are going to profit by experience.

P. S. NORTH ADAMS, N. Y.—During the late Textile Workers' strike Kangaroo, or "Socialist party" weavers, scabbed it on the strikers.

V. F. K. HOLLAND, MICH.—By this mail we forward to you "Federationists" of Sept., 1901, and three copies of the "Metal-polishers' Journal" of the July, Aug. and Oct., 1901, issues. In the "Federationist" you will find conspicuously on the back of the very title page, the advertisement of the National Cash Register setting forth that the Registers "are made by organized union labor." That is in Sept., 1901. The Metal-polishers' "Journals" will show you that—there was a strike on before that month and that the strike continued and was on after that month. The passages are all blue-penciled, and the pages marked on the cover. Be sure and return the set.

E. F. J. CHICAGO, ILL.—The sharpest, longest, most cruel thorn on the thorny crown on the head of the martyr who edits this paper is the thorn marked "poets." Other rejected contributors may or may not denounce him, the "poets," as a rule, if not promptly published, turn around and vend him. Let's cite you an instance out of many. A poem was not published in the very first issue of The People after its reception. The contributor wrote to inquire: he was answered. Another issue followed without his poem: again he wrote: again he was answered. Some more issues without that poem: and again he wrote to inquire: he was the third time answered and informed that there were so many other poems ahead of him he would have to wait for his turn. As fatality would have it, in the very next issue there appeared a poem written in answer to one in the previous issue. Obviously, the answer could not have come before the poem of our poet in question. And then we "got it!" Hitherto, our poet had addressed us in terms of increasing loveliness: "Comrade," "Dear Comrade," "My Dear Comrade." His letter now ran this way: "Sir—The poem in this week's issue of your sheet cannot have reached you before last week—several weeks after mine. Is that Socialism? Do you call that Socialism? This is a worse tyranny than Czarism. Socialism means free press. You are suppressing me. You are a Czar; you are a Tammany boss. You are a disgrace to Socialism"; etc., etc. The man Kangarooed.

Don't.

L. M. G. BUFFALO, N. Y.—It is not The People's province to interpret the constitution. Your letter is referred to the N. E. C.

W. W. EDINBURGH, SCOTLAND.—1st. Genuine Socialist municipalization means municipal ownership and control for the benefit of the working class, not the purpose of reducing taxes (which does not concern the workers) nor for the purpose of lowering fares (which in the long run would lower wages). Such municipalization is a revolution as it makes straight against class rule, if it does not forthwith overturn it.

2d. Trustification is not reformation. Reform excludes the idea of evolution. Trustification implies such evolution. Trustification is the development of the capitalist principle: Reform leaves the principle untouched; it no wise promotes the principle; it might even check it (whence Reform is frequently mistaken for Revolution) without, however, denying, or doing positive violence to, the principle. The notion of "publicity," for instance, is a Reform on Trusts. Hence Reform can never be revolutionary, nor can Revolution ever be reformatory.

3d. The taking over of "public utilities" by the capitalist government, is, for the above reasons, neither Reform nor Revolution. The step is evolutionary. It is the development of the capitalist principle towards its highest expression—"CONCENTRATION," concentration of economic power, and the further concentration or unification of these with the political power.

4th. Only rumors, nothing definite has reached this office on the subject. We don't know how he stands.

5th. The S. T. & L. A. manly opposes female labor and its extension. Specially, in that it does not go into hysterics on the matter. It does not because it knows that at this stage of capitalist development all such reforms are like stitches in rotten cloth. They don't hold.

D. G. B. MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.—There is no such political designation as "Radical Socialist" in French politics. The term often occurs in American papers. It is a mistaken translation of "radical Socialist," which stands for the radicals with Socialist leanings—just the reverse of "radical Socialist." The correct English rendition of the French term "radical Socialist" is "Socialist radical."

T. J. PHILADELPHIA, PA.—A little further along that line, and you will have worked yourself into a position that historic facts belie. This, for instance, happened in a Catholic country: A woman in the confessional was asked by the priest for her name. Prompt the answer came: "Father, my name is not a sin."

A. L. A. S. LINCOLN, NEB.—"Le Socialiste," 7 Rue Rodier, Paris, 4 francs for 6 months. It is the present central organ of the "Parti Socialiste de France," the name adopted by the consolidated anti-minimalists of France.

"WATCHMAN" LINCOLN, NEB.—Read, re-read, study and digest Marx' "Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte." You will soon be able to substitute American names for those of the historic characters that appear in the work. That's the treatise that makes Socialists, because it is the treatise that gives the technique of the Socialist Movement.

J. H. NEW YORK.—You may call for your articles.

F. R. D. LYNN, MASS.—In the first place, the Socialist Labor Party does not, and never did claim that all of those who voted your "Socialist party" ticket are frauds and liars." There goes your first premise.

In the second place, the Socialist Labor Party has not lost heavily all over the country." The fact is it gained over 50 per cent. And there goes your second premise.

You are evidently in a rage. Which shows you must be feeling hit.

A. E. N. LOS ANGELES, CAL.—The N. E. C. has that Buffalo debate in hand.

A. B. PATTERSON, N. J.—Is not what you mean this in a nutshell: If all the fleas are driven into the dog's tail, they can be drowned in one dip: If all the capitalist concerns are nationalized they could be Socialized by one election which the Socialists may carry. Even so, your route is faulty. It will be as much harder to "carry an election" for Socialism against a capitalist government, which simultaneously runs the industries of the nation, as it is found harder to resist a Czar of Russia than a merely capitalist political rule.

J. S. NEW YORK.—Do you recollect what happened in the case of a Father McGlynn "Anti-povertyite" who died at a McGlynn meeting, and received extreme unction at McG's hands? The man also had a plot in a Catholic cemetery. Archbishop Corrigan refused him burial. The matter came in court and the archbishop won out. The decision was illegal. Yet it was rendered and enforced, and by an A. P. A. Protestant Judge, at that. Now draw your own conclusions.

Working Class Independence.

The liberally sturdy independence of the working class is shown in the following humorous communication to a capitalist newspaper:

"To the Editor of the Sun—Sir: I saw a suggestion in the Sun that it would be a good and worthy idea, consistent with the season, to give each conductor of the surface roads a double fare, for reasons stated. It struck me as being something very fine—I tried it. The third trial was a glorious finish. Maybe you would like to know about it."

"Trial One—Handing the man two nickels: 'That's your Christmas, conductor'—in what I considered my best manner. 'Umph, is that the best you can do?'

"Trial Two—Manners, etc., as before: 'Pfwat's that? Oive been insulted like that just three times, and I'd loike to lick the feller that started it.'

"Trial Three—This time I had to go through my little stunts twice before he seemed to comprehend. He looked at the nickel, looked at me and said: 'O hell!'

"Annie Elizabeth White.

@Brooklyn Heights, Dec. 30, 1902."

This spirit of opposition to degradation is latent in most workmen. It needs only to be freed from the paralyzing influence of pure and simple unionism and capitalist politics to make it an effective means to emancipate the working class.

McSweeney, governor of South Carolina, is said to be after the Troy lynchers. Most of the governors of Southern States indulge in this performance. They always take care, however, to be so far after the lynchers that they never catch up to them.

"Light! More Light!"

Clean - Wholesome - Socialist

Literature

HAND in hand with the sale of our party press should go the sale of sound Socialist literature. The trashy stuff dished up as "socialistic" can only be driven from the field by developing a taste for the real thing. This is the work of the New York Labor News Company : : : : : The following book list comprises works of Scientific Socialism which we can heartily recommend : : : : :

No Trash No Pipe Dreams

The best at lowest prices, and the best is the cheapest : : : :

PAPER BOUND BOOKS

Almanac, The. Lucien Sanial.	\$ 50
Anarchism and Socialism. George Picchanoff.	25
Capitalist Class. The. Karl Kautsky.	05
Catechism of Socialism. A New E. Belford Bax and H. Quelch.	10
Class Struggle. The. Karl Kautsky.	05
Communist Manifesto. The. Marx and Engels.	10
Co-operative Commonwealth. The. Lawrence Gronlund.	50
Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science. Frederick Engels.	05
Economics of Labor. Quelch.	05
Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon. Karl Marx.	25
Historical Materialism. Frederick Engels.	05
Life of Lord Palmerston. The. Karl Marx.	35
New Truths. The. Lucien Sanial.	05
No Compromise. Wilhelm Liebknecht.	10
Reform or Revolution. Daniel DeLeon.	05
Right to be Lazy. The. Paul Lafargue.	10
Socialism and Evolution. Dr. H. S. Aley.	05
Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance versus the "Pure and Simple" Trade Union. A Debate Between Daniel DeLeon and Job Harriman.	05
Socialism and Single Tax. A Debate. Quelch and Wright.	05
Socialism. Wm. Scholl McClure.	05
Socialist Republic. The. Karl Kautsky.	05
Socialist Catechism. L. J. Joyes.	05
Socialism and Slavery. H. M. Hyndman.	05
Summary of the Principles of Socialism. Hyndman and Morris.	15
Socialism: What It Is and What It Seeks to Accomplish. Wilhelm Liebknecht.	10
Socialism and Anarchism. Daniel DeLeon.	05
Science and the Worker. Ferdinand Lassalle.	25
Territorial Expansion. Lucien Sanial.	05
Taxation. Lucien Sanial.	05
Tragic Pages from the History of Strikes among the Miners.	15
Value, Price and Profit. Karl Marx.	05
What Means This Strike? Daniel DeLeon.	05
What Is Capital? Ferdinand Lassalle.	05
Working Class. The. Karl Kautsky.	05
Was Jesus a Socialist? James Leatham.	05
Workingmen's Programme. Ferdinand Lassalle.	10
Woman in the Past, Present and Future. A. Bebel.	25
Working Class Movement in England. The. Mrs. Eleanor Marx Aveling.	10

CLOTH BOUND BOOKS

Almanac. The. Lucien Sanial.	\$1 00
Anarchism and Socialism. George Picchanoff	50
Ancient Society. Morgan	4 00
Capital. Karl Marx	1 75
Commercial Crises of the Nineteenth Century. H. M. Hyndman	1 00
Ethics of Socialism. The. Ernest Belford Bax	1 00
Economics of Socialism. H. M. Hyndman	1 20
Evolution of Property. The. Paul Lafargue	1 00
Ferdinand Lassalle as a Social Reformer. Edward Bernstein	1 00
Outlooks from the New Standpoint. E. B. Bax	1 00
Proceedings of the Tenth National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party	1 00
Paris Commune. The. Karl Marx	50
Paris Commune. The. Lissagaray	1 00
Parasitism. Organic and Social. Massart and Vanderveide	1 00
Religion of Socialism. The. E. Belford Bax	1 00
Revolution and Counter Revolution. Karl Marx	1 00
Socialism. Utopian and Scientific. Frederick Engels	50
Students' Marx. The. Edward Aveling	1 00
Socialism. Its Growth and Outcome. Morris and Hyndman	1 00
Value. Price and Profit. Karl Marx	50
Wage Labor and Capital: Free Trade. Karl Marx	50
Working Class Movement in America. Edward Aveling	1 00
Woman in the Past, Present and Future. A. Bebel	50

OFFICIAL.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—
Henry Kuhn, Secretary, 2-6 New Read Street, New York
SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CANADA
—W. S. Corbin, Secretary, 70 Colborne Street, London, Ontario.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY—
2-4 New Read Street. (The Party's literary agency.)

Notice.—For technical reasons, no Party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesday, 10 p. m.

NEW YORK STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

A regular meeting of the New York State Executive Committee was held in The Daily People building, 2-6 New Read Street, on December 22, 1902, at 6 p. m. Brauckman in the chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were adopted as read.

Letters were received from: Yonkers, Schenectady, Johnstown and Watertown on routine business.

A report was received from Comrade Carroll about his work in Brooklyn respecting subscriptions to The Monthly and Weekly People.

Sections and members who have campaign lists are urged to send them in at once.

The committee on pledges to liquidate the indebtedness on The Daily People plant reported that \$389.82 had been pledged up to that date, of which \$201.82 had been paid thus far. The list of pledges and payments follows:

Previously acknowledged	\$354.82
F. Werderberg	1.00
J. Newman	1.00
Otto Barthel	5.00
Henry Bauman	1.00
John Doherty	5.00
H. Hoffman	1.00
F. Rapp	1.00
34th A. D. N. York	5.00
B. Thorne	1.00
Julius Wolff	1.00
Joseph Harlow	5.00
Mrs. L. Leroux	2.00
H. Muller	2.50
H. Hollinger	2.50
G. Thibault	5.00
A. Picquart	1.00
Total	\$389.82

Paid.

Previously acknowledged	\$214.82
H. Bauman	1.00
John Doherty	2.00
H. Hoffman	1.00
Fred Rapp	1.00
34th A. D. N. York	5.00
Owen Canfield	2.00
P. Garroyst	5.00
Peter Jacobson	5.00
32d and 33d A. D. N. York	5.00
Sec. Monroe Co., New York	11.00
Gustav Dela	1.00
Richard Haas	1.00
Julius Wolff	1.00
J. H. Sweeney	5.00
Dr. R. S. Fones	25.00
Mrs. L. Leroux	2.00
Harry Muller	2.50
Henry Hollinger	2.50
George Thibault	5.00
F. Werderberg	1.00
A. Picquart	1.00
Total	\$201.82

Adjournment followed.

Earl Mueller, Secretary.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CANADA.

The regular meeting of the N. E. C. was held December 20; Comrade J. W. Pearson, chairman, and all members present.

The minutes of last meeting were adopted as read.

C. communications: From Du Verneat acknowledging receipt of check for \$50.

From Comrade Connolly, statement of expenses, the treasurer reported having paid his bill upon presentation; another letter was received from Connolly concerning an overcharge in the bill submitted. It was decided to write the national secretary of the S. L. P. of the United States, asking for an explanation in matters pertaining to this account. From Comrade Woodley of Toronto, re the success of the Connolly lecture and other matters. From Section Hamilton, giving itemized statement of the expenses of Comrades Roadhouse and Lazarus to Brantford, Ont., July, 1902, showing a balance of 45 cents belonging to the N. E. C. still in their possession; also asking for vehicles, etc., used in the outdoor propaganda at the time of the arrest in Hamilton, would be paid for with the defense fund. The N. E. C. decided to reply to this communication that in view of the Hamilton case having cost \$100, and only \$98.38 having been raised on the defense fund, this fund is overdrawn \$2.62 and that the N. E. C. cannot pay the expenses of Section Hamilton's propaganda work, and that Section Hamilton and all other sections must direct and finance their own work in the future; and further, that the N. E. C. would like Hamilton to explain their method of carrying on a section with out due stamps. From Section Brantford, Ont., due stamps, etc. From Comrade C. L. Johnson of Slocan, B. C., re leaflets and pamphlets, secretary instructed to reply.

Reports: The financial report showed receipts since last statement were \$3.50, expenses \$4.50.

The treasurer was instructed to prepare and submit a full report of the receipts and expenditures of the Hamilton Defense Fund.

It was decided to send to Sections Hamilton, London and Toronto their respective bill in connection with the Connolly tour, asking for immediate payment of same.

Comrade Pearce having volunteered to supply the N. E. C. with the names of the members of the defunct Section St. Thomas, the secretary was instructed to write them, asking them to become members at-large, or if possible, to reorganize a section.

Philip Courtney, Recording Secretary.

London, Ont., Dec. 30, 1902.

DISTRICT ALLIANCE 19, S. T. & L. A.

District Alliance 19, S. T. & L. A. held its last regular business meeting in the headquarters of Section Lynn, 26 Munro Street, on Sunday, December 28. Delegates were present representing Mike Shoe-workers Alliance, L. A. 267, of Lynn; Mixed Alliance, L. A. 350, of Salem; Weavers Alliance, L. A. 368, of Plymouth, and the Socialist Labor Party.

The following locals were not represented: Mechanics Alliance, L. A. 185, of Boston; Weavers Alliance, L. A. 378, of Lawrence, and Shoeworkers Alliance, L. A. 387, of Marlboro.

Comrade Thomas Brennan, of L. A. 350, was elected chairman, and Comrade John W. Ryan, of L. A. 267, recording secretary pro tem.

The records of the previous meeting were approved as read.

Comrade Baz reported that the com-

mittee elected to devise ways and means of raising funds for D. A. 19 had not held a meeting yet.

Comrade Michael Tracy, delegate from D. A. 19 to the S. T. & L. A. Convention recently held in Hartford, Conn., reported the proceedings of the convention. The resolutions presented to the convention from D. A. 19, calling for the abolition of the S. T. & L. A. label and that none but wage workers can be members of the Alliance, had been carried.

Communication received from L. A. 368, of Plymouth, regarding conditions there and sending tickets for sale; accepted for files.

Bill of Comrade White for \$20 accepted and ordered paid.

Bill of Comrade Tracy accepted and ordered paid.

Financial report of Secretary-Treasurer Box accepted and ordered turned over to the auditing committee.

Bill of Comrade Frank B. Jordan for \$2.50 for expenses to and from Plymouth accepted and ordered paid.

Delegate from L. A. 368 reported that Comrade Powers of D. A. 17, of Providence, had addressed a large audience of weavers in Plymouth. L. A. 368 is getting new members and desire to be transferred from D. A. 19 to D. A. 17.

The organizer was instructed to communicate with the G. E. B. stating the request of L. A. 368 and asking that they be transferred to D. A. 17.

Comrade Gallagher, of the S. L. P. Entertainment Committee, was given the privilege of the floor. He stated that the Entertainment Committee desired D. A. 19 to elect a committee of three to act in conjunction with them to raise funds.

Advised to lay the matter on the table until the next meeting.

Voted, that the election of officers be laid over until the next meeting.

John W. Ryan, Rec. Sec. pro tem.

SPECIAL CHRISTMAS BOX.

Up to Saturday, January 3, \$102.15 were received for this fund. We shall now consider it closed. Several comrades have written that they intend to devote one day's wages to the Party. If they do so we shall credit the amounts to The Daily People Special Fund. The following is the list in full:

Special Christmas Box.

C. Pollard, San Antonio, Texas	\$5.00
A. F. W., city	3.00
Joseph Schuerer, city	5.00
Andrew Sater, city	2.50
Max Heyman, city	5.00
P. Wegener, city	.75
N. Zolinsky, city	2.80
J. H. Jersey City	5.00
J. E., Brooklyn	2.00
H. W., Brooklyn	2.00
S. J. F., city	2.00
E. Moonelis, city	2.00
H. J. Schade, Los Angeles, Cal.	10.00
Albert Johnson, city	25.00
Section Milwaukee, Wis.	1.00
Oliver Maury, Milwaukee, Wis.	.50
T. Horn, Milwaukee, Wis.	1.00
Chas. Minkley, Milwaukee, Wis.	3.00
John Kelly, city	3.00
John Walsh, city	1.00
Pat Quinlan, city	1.50
W. Garrit, Akron, Ohio	1.00
M. J. Quirk, Saugus, Mass.	1.00
Walter Gilpin, Hoboken, N. J.	1.00
G. G. Anton, Philadelphia	4.00
C. G. Davidson, St. Paul, Minn.	5.00
G. Willich, Buffalo	2.50
John Plamondon, city	1.00
Henry Glos, city	.50
Adam Moren, city	1.00
A. F. Peters, Houston, Texas	3.00
L. Orange, city	6.75
J. Keenan, city	3.50
C. Bossie, city	3.00
Joseph Reilly, city	1.00
Robert Downes, city	2.00
Eber Forbes, Yonkers	1.00
H. A. Schoeps, Union Hill, N. J.	1.00
28th A. D., city	5.00
J. Henry, Patton, Pa.	1.00
Morris Weis, Brinton, Pa.	1.00
August Clever, Bradock, Pa.	1.00
A. E. Norman, Los Angeles, Cal.	5.00
Jno. Sweeney, Weehawken, N. J.	1.00
L. Abelson, city	2.00
J. White, Salem, Mass.	1.00
A. Picquart, city	1.00
R. H. McHugh, St. Charles, Mo.	6.50
R. Boumyer, Paterson, N. J.	3.00
J. E. Alexander, Albany	1.00
Section London, Ont.	10.00
Axel Gerdin, Sarnia, Ont.	1.00
J. Kaucher, Shawnee, Ohio	2.50
C. Christensen, Boston	2.00
John Lindgren, Brooklyn	1.50
John Doherty, city	1.00
Joseph Lutkenhaus, city	2.00
Sec. Worcester, Mass. (col.)	2.35
F. Metzger, Paducah, Ky.	2.50
A. Williams, Paducah, Ky.	1.00
John Lidberg, St. Paul, Minn.	1.50
Jos. Mueller, Denver, Colo.	5.00
Sympathizer, St. Louis, Mo.	1.00
T. Sweeney, Louisville, Ky.	1.00
Jacob Schwenck, Jersey City, N. J.	1.00
E. Singewald, So. Norwalk, Ct.	1.00
Chas. Fink, Los Angeles, Cal.	1.00
D. Rudnick, Fullerton, Cal.	1.00
Nels Anderson, Gladstone, Col.	3.00
Total	\$102.15

G. E. B., S. T. & L. A.

The newly elected General Executive Board, of the S. T. & L. A., convened January 1, 1903, 12 o'clock M. Present comrades: John J. Kinnely, general secretary; August Gilhaus, general treasurer; David Olsen, Wolf o'Ks, Samuel J. French and Otto Bartels. Absent and excused: John Plamondon.

Comrade William L. Brower, retiring general secretary, installed the members present.

The board then went into executive session. Comrade Olsen was elected chairman.

The books and property in possession of the retiring board were turned over by Comrade Brower to the new board.

Resolved, That a committee of two be appointed to audit the accounts and take an inventory of the property of the board. Committee: Olsen and Kinnely.

Communication from D. A. 19, in reference to the transfer of L. A. 368, from D. A. 19 to D. A. 17. Action: the transfer of L. A. 368 from D. A. 19 to D. A. 17 endorsed.

The call for a vote on the amend-

ments to the constitution with the amendments, pursuant to resolution of the convention; had been sent out by the retiring G. E. B. Copies of the call and amendments were then read. It was found that the notes and explanations on the amendment to article 3, Section 1, viz., "National Trade Alliances," and adopted by the convention, were not sent out. It was deemed advisable by the board that for an intelligent vote on this amendment the explanations should be sent out.

Action: Resolved, That the secretary be instructed to send out as soon as possible the explanatory notes.

Resolved, To meet the Second and Fourth Thursday evening of every month at 8 o'clock sharp.

No other important business being before the board, adjournment followed.

John J. Kinnely, General Secretary.

ADDRESS OF G. E. B., S. T. & L. A. TO THE MEMBERSHIP.

To the Members of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, Comrades, Greeting:

While it develops upon the members of the G. E. B. and the officers of your district and local Alliance to push with vigor the work of organization and agitation, yet let it be understood that the members are called upon to begin the work in this new year with renewed zeal and determination to unfold to the benighted members of the working class the principles and revolutionary spirit of "New Trades Unionism" (let us be up and at them).

You must hold meetings and debates and especially look after the all important work "the distribution of literature."

Make your local assembly a school for the economic and political education of the working class, thereby strengthening your political ally, the Socialist Labor Party. Expose and uncover the traitors to the working class "The Labor Lieutenants of Capitalism" who not only lead the workers to be murdered and slaughtered in the bull pens as well as at Homestead, Hazelton, etc., but by keeping them ignorant of the principles of the class struggle make their most powerful weapon "The Ballot" a useless toy, a weapon turned against themselves.

Comrades, we want, we must have, the active co-operation of each and every member in the S. T. & L. A. Use and develop your local speakers and, when necessary, call upon the G. E. B. to aid you. Hoping that when we turn over our offices to our successors in 1904, the dawn of success will appear much brighter than it may appear to some at present, we wish you all a happy and a successful New Year.

For the General Executive Board.

John J. Kinnely,

General Secretary.

DETROIT, MICHIGAN, LECTURES.

A course of lecture meetings arranged by Section Detroit, Mich., Socialist Labor Party, will be held at Mannebach's Hall, 273 Gratiot Avenue, near Hastings street, upstairs, at 2.30 p. m. on the following Sundays:

Jan. 4th: The Class Struggle, by Melko Meyer.

Jan. 11th: The Socialist Labor Party: Its Aims and Objects, by Herman Richter.

Jan. 18th: Socialism and Capitalism, by Philip Engle.

Jan. 25th: Can Trades Unions Solve the Labor Problem, by George Hasseler.

Feb. 1st: Scientific Socialism, by John F. Smith.

Feb. 8th: Collective Social Effort, by Thomas Hackett.

Feb. 15th: The Tactics of the Socialist Labor Party, by Melko Meyer.

Feb. 22d: Surplus Value, by Herman Richter.

March 1st: The Conditions of the Working Class and the Remedy, by Philip Engle.

March 8th: The Socialist Labor Party and Reform Movements, by George Hasseler.

March 14th or 15th: Commune Celebration; watch for further notice.

March 22d: Individualism and Socialism, by John F. Smith.

March 29th: New Trades Unionism vs. The A. F. of L., by Melko Meyer.

April 5th: Why Capitalism Should be Removed, by Philip Engle.

Admission free; everybody should attend.

MINUTES OF ILLINOIS S. E. C.

Meeting called to order by Organizer Cox. Hearshb elected chairman. Members present: Goss, Hearshb, Jennings, Edie and Cox. Absent and excused, Surber, Francis and Venl.

Minutes of last meeting read and approved. Correspondence: Vote on special State Convention was received from Sections Chicago, Peoria and Jacksonville.

Financial report of organization received and sent to auditing committee.

The Lacy matter was taken up. Two letters were placed before the S. E. C.: one from Lacy, stating that the documents in question (the letter to the N. E. C. and the proposition for special State Convention) had been read by every member of Section Jacksonville and endorsed by the Section; one from Val Mattis, secretary of Section Jacksonville in reference to the case, from which it is evident that the Section is shielding Lacy. Action: S. E. C. report the matter to the N. E. C. and recommend the expulsion of Section Jacksonville.

G. A. Jennings, Recording Secretary.

Collinsville, Ill., Dec. 28.

L. A. 267, ATTENTION.

Shoeworkers' Local, No. 267, S. T. & L. A., will hold its next regular meeting at the headquarters, 26 Monroe street, Lynn, Mass. The election of officers and other very important business will come up at this meeting, and every member should attend. By order,

John W. Ryan, President.

John A. Henley, Secretary.

BUSINESS DEPARTMENT NOTES.

(Continued from Page 4.)

Not afford a year's subscription to The Daily People, have adopted our suggestion to take the Sunday issue, which costs but \$1 per year. The Sunday issue contains good reading besides the regular propaganda features.

Comrades throughout the country sending in notices announcing meetings, balls and other affairs under S. L. P. auspices, very often send printed cards or hand bills printed for the occasion. This printing they have done at home, evidently forgetting that the New York Labor News Company is thoroughly equipped for just such work. Shortness of time cannot always be pleaded, as the notices often announce affairs far ahead. Don't forget the Labor News Company when you have any printing to be done.

Canadian friends are requested not to send us Canadian stamps in payment for bills or subscriptions. We can handle Canadian orders all right, but have to exchange the stamps at a discount.

When you have a grievance, fancied or real, against this office write us the facts stating them as briefly as possible and we shall do our best to straighten out whatever is at fault. We haven't time to wade through four or five pages of matter to find out what could have been said in about as many words. We have need for additional help here, and to make up for lack of it we do double duty—Sundays and holidays included. Just remember this the next time you are moved to write an impatient letter.

Subscribers to the Workers' Republic who do not get the paper are requested to write direct to the Workers' Republic, No. 6 Lower Liffey Street, Dublin, Ireland.

We can no longer supply papers containing the lectures on Two Pages From Roman History. We have but one set left. Will the person who paid for them some time ago send us his address so that we can mail him the papers.

In sending in remittances don't fail to send the bills received from this end. This applies whether remittance is paid in full or not.

Heretofore the S. L. P. has depended very largely on its members to push its press. There must be hundreds of sympathizers who are just as much interested in the movement as we, but who do little or nothing to further the cause. It may be that they do not know just how to help. To all such we would say send us one new subscriber to The Weekly People. This is not asking the impossible; and who can tell how far reaching such united action on the part of all readers of The Weekly might be. We shall let you know if this appeal meets with the response it merits.

LABOR NEWS DEPARTMENT

The Labor News Company is endeavoring to supply seasonable literature for propaganda purposes, and the Labor Library, published monthly, is the method employed. Late issues of that publication are: November, "Uncle Sam and the Militia," The January issue, "Union Wreckers." The January issue, now out, is timely, and is entitled "The Industrial Crisis." February number will be a reprint of Olive M. Johnson's article, published in The Sunday People, "The Historic Mission of the Working Class." The Labor Library will be sent for a year for 10 cents. Bundle orders: 1000, at \$1.25; 500, at 75 cents.

"Two Pages From Roman History," by Daniel De Leon, the publication of which in book form has been delayed, will be the first book issued by the Labor News Company with the new year. It is now in the hands of the printer and will be ready for distribution before the close of the month. The publication will contain over 100 pages, printed on good paper, and should be in the hands of every member of the Socialist Labor Party. It will retail at 15 cents a copy. An edition of 1000 will be printed, and orders should be sent in by literary agents at once. The usual discount to sections and on large orders. No work more conclusively proves the tactical strength of the S. L. P.

Many inquiries have come to this office concerning the publication of the De Leon-Thayer debate, and an answer is due. The stenographer who "reported" the debate, while faithfully reproducing Comrade De Leon's side, as he was compelled to do, because the speech was extemporaneous, saved trouble for himself by sending in as Mr. Thayer's side an address which was prepared beforehand and never delivered. Comrade De Leon, in his opening speech, placed the question to be considered entirely on points not covered or touched upon by Mr. Thayer in his prepared address. A printed "report" from such material as the stenographer has supplied, would give the impression that neither side knew what they were talking about—that it was a go-as-you-please instead of a debate. Thayer, seemingly, neither attempted to reply to De Leon, nor did De Leon answer Thayer; they simply dangled each other. Under such circumstances, the publication of the debate, either in book form, or even in The People, is entirely out of the question.

The Labor News Company propose to publish as rapidly as funds at their disposal permit, cheap editions of all the classics of Scientific Socialism, many of which have not been published in America, and must be imported at prices which often prevent their wider reading. A more rapid sale of our publications will enable us to turn our money over and the sooner accomplish this object. If every member of the Socialist Labor Party would buy one of these books as they are brought out, the first and heaviest expense would be met. Beginning with the new year, literary agents ordering books will be sent at least one copy of each new publication. If they then bring the attention of the comrades and sympathizers to the value and importance of the book we have no doubt that a more rapid distribution of our literature will result.

"Historical Materialism," by Frederick Engels, is the latest pamphlet bearing the imprint of the Labor News Company. It is the introduction to "The Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science," but does not appear in the pamphlet edition of that work. Price, 5 cents; \$3 a hundred.

Next week "The Mark," by Engels, written as appendix to "Socialism from Utopia to Science," and complementary thereto, will be ready for distribution. This completes, in pamphlet form, together with "Historical Materialism" and "Socialism from Utopia to Science," the matter appearing in the cloth bound Arm and Hammer series, and places the whole of Engels' writings composed in that series within the reach of all. Price, 5 cents. Usual discounts to sections and on large orders.

JOHN O'DONNELL.

At a meeting of Section Woburn, Massachusetts, held December 28, 1902, the following resolutions were adopted:

Whereas, Death has removed from us Comrade John O'Donnell who ever since Section Woburn, Socialist Labor Party, was founded has rendered valiant service in the propaganda of class-conscious Socialism, and notwithstanding his peculiar capitalist environment firmly and resolutely held aloft the principles of Socialism to the last;

Resolved, that Section Woburn, Socialist Labor Party, has lost a sincere and tireless worker whom we deeply mourn; the working class an earnest and loyal friend, and his family, a kind and loving husband and father; therefore be it

Resolved, that a copy of these resolutions be published in our official organ as well as the local press, a copy to be spread upon the minutes of this meeting and a copy also be forwarded to the bereaved family of our departed comrade.

James L. McDermott,

William H. O'Brien

John F. Bradley

Committee on Resolutions.

SECTION CHICAGO, SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

To the Sections of Illinois, Greetings:

Comrades: Section Chicago has class in many fights. We are in another now. On account of its having been the seat of the State Committee, Chicago has been regarded as the citadel that must be captured by every enemy the party has had in this State in recent years. Whatever differences, whatever grievances the early Kangaroos and the recent seceders may have had, all agreed on one line of action: that was, to get into the offices, get hold of the party's property, and the party treasury, and then haul out, leaving not a stick of property or a cent behind. Each alike has then on the money stolen from the Socialist Labor Party, set up another party, claiming the party's name. And each has nominated a bogus ticket, which we have been compelled to fight at the next election. This is just the position we are in at the present time. Seventy-five per cent of the vote of the State is located in Chicago.